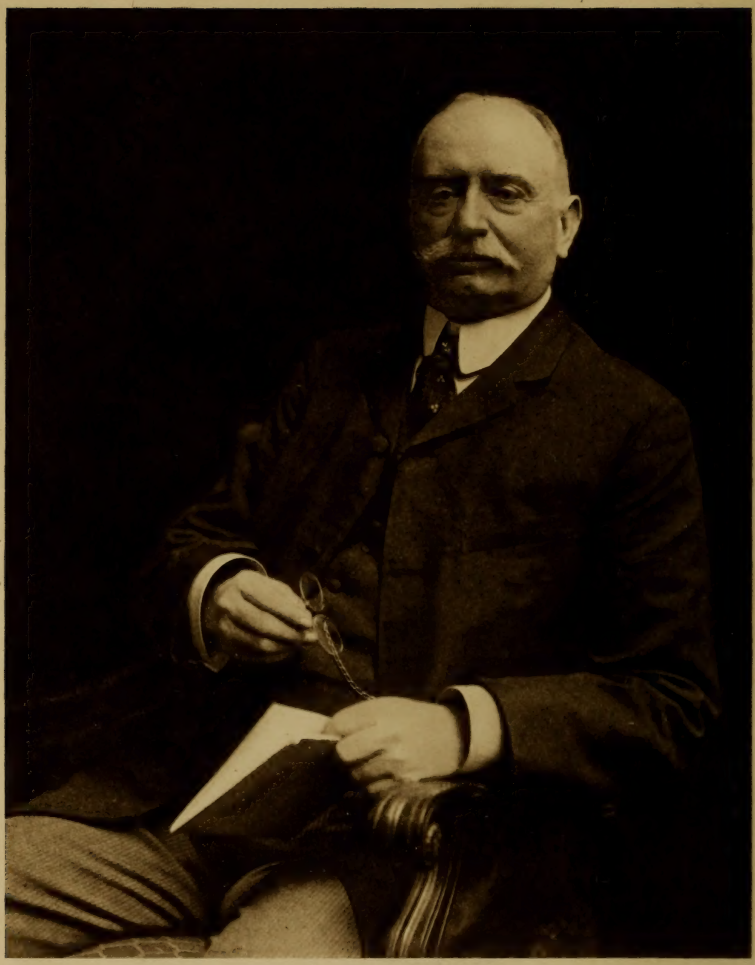
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01308027 0

STUDIES
IN HONOR OF
A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT

I

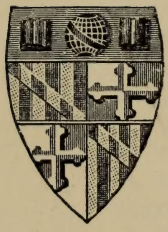


A. Marshall Elliott.

STUDIES IN HONOR OF A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I



120922
7|2|12

BALTIMORE
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

PARIS
H. CHAMPION

LEIPZIG
O. HARRASSOWITZ

YRARBIJ DTMORRT OF TORONTO

PRESS OF
J. H. FURST CO.
BALTO.

THE FOLLOWING STUDENTS OF PROFESSOR ELLIOTT OFFER THIS BOOK IN GRATEFUL APPRECIATION

T. G. AHRENS
E. C. ARMSTRONG
H. D. AUSTIN
A. H. BAXTER
D. S. BLONDHEIM
F. A. BLOSSOM
B. L. BOWEN
G. G. BROWNELL
J. D. BRUNER
M. P. BRUSH
D. L. BUFFUM
J. A. CHILD
F. L. CRITCHLOW
A. E. CURDY
E. P. DARGAN
F. DE HAAN
D. B. EASTER
E. A. FAY
J. A. FONTAINE
E. J. FORTIER
P. J. FREIN
F. L. FROST
SAMUEL GARNER
C. F. GLOTH
W. E. GOULD
P. W. HARRY
J. A. HAUGHTON
H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN
S. S. JANNEY
T. A. JENKINS
O. M. JOHNSTON
A. D. JONES
G. C. KEIDEL
A. F. KUERSTEINER
H. C. LANCASTER
G. G. LAUBSCHER
C. C. MARDEN
J. F. MASON
C. E. MATHEWS
J. E. MATZKE
A. J. MORRISON
T. A. E. MOSELEY
W. A. NITZE
PHILLIP OGDEN
K. S. PATTON
W. T. PEIRCE
W. H. PERKINS
R. E. PHILLIPS
J. E. SHAW
J. S. SHEFLOE
E. H. SIRICH
G. E. SNAVELY
J. A. SPRENGER
W. A. STOWELL
H. P. THIEME
H. A. TODD
OLIVER TOWLES
F. M. WARREN
K. E. WESTON
GEORGE WHITELOCK
J. R. WIGHTMAN
E. H. WILKINS

There have been collected in the accompanying volume a set of studies prepared by present or former members of the department of Romance Languages in the Johns Hopkins University and recent lecturers before that department. These studies were planned to celebrate the completion of Professor Elliott's thirty-fifth year of service in the University, and were to be offered to him as a mark of his pupils' esteem for their teacher and an evidence of the profit they had derived from his scholarly example. We would not have his death affect our purpose. On realizing the gravity of his disease, we told him of our desire, and afterwards kept him informed of the steps taken to accomplish it. And whatever misgivings we may have had, he never lost confidence in the success of the undertaking. So we feel that his personality has guided us from beginning to end. He did not look upon our work as a memorial of a career that is finished, nor do we. That memorial is to be found elsewhere, closely bound up with the place where he labored. These pages are an offering in his honor, a tribute to his intellectual activity, and a witness which we bring, in behalf of ourselves and our comrade who went before him, to the lasting influence of his ideals of instruction and investigation—an influence which it will be our privilege, we hope, to carry forward in a circle that ever widens.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

PAGES

ARMSTRONG, E. C. (*Johns Hopkins University*), The French Shifts in Adjective Position and their English Equivalents 251-274

AUSTIN, H. D. (*University of Michigan*), The Origin and Greek Versions of the Strange-Feathers Fable..... 305-327

BÉDIER, J. (*University of Paris*), La Légende des "Enfances" de Charlemagne et l'Histoire de Charles Martel 81-107

BLONDHEIM, D. S. (*University of Illinois*), Etymological Notes (Fr. *cadastre*, Span. and Port. *cerdo, cerda*).. 237-250

BOWEN, B. L. (*Ohio State University*), The Place of Châteaubriand as a Critic of Italian Literature.... 187-193

BRUSH, M. P., Editor (*Johns Hopkins University*), Esopo Zuccarino 375-450

BUFFUM, D. L. (*Princeton University*), The Songs of the Roman de la Violette..... 129-157

CURDY, A. E. (*Yale University*), The Versions of the Fable of the Peacock and Juno..... 329-346

DARGAN, E. P. (*University of California*), The Poetry of Sully-Prudhomme 195-208

JENKINS, T. A., Editor (*University of Chicago*), Le Contenz dou Monde, by Renaud d'Andon..... 53-79

KEIDEL, G. C. (*Johns Hopkins University*), Problems in Medieval Fable Literature..... 281-303

LANCASTER, H. C. (*Amherst College*), A Classic French Tragedy based on an Anecdote told of Charles the Bold 159-174

MATZKE, J. E. (*Stanford University*), The Roman du Châtelain de Couci and Fauchet's Chronique..... 1-18

PAGES

NITZE, W. A. (*University of Chicago*), The Castle of the Grail—an Irish Analogue 19-51

SNAVELY, G. E., Editor (*Allegheny College*), The Ysopet of Jehan de Vignay 347-374

STOWELL, W. A. (*Amherst College*), Notes on the Etymology of *bachelier* 225-236

TERRACHER, A. (*Johns Hopkins University*), Le Pluriel du Démonstratif dans les Parlers populaires de l'Angoumois (avec carte) 275-280

THIEME, H. P. (*University of Michigan*), Notes on Victor Hugo's Versification 209-224

TODD, H. A., Editor (*Columbia University*), An Unpublished Fourteenth Century Invocation to Mary Magdalen: *Il est bien temps que je m'avise* 109-128

WARREN, F. M. (*Yale University*), French Classical Drama and the Comédie Larmoyante 175-185

THE ROMAN DU CHATELAIN DE COUCI AND FAUCHET'S CHRONIQUE

BY

JOHN E. MATZKE

In the long list of titles[1] constituting what is commonly known as the Cycle of the Eaten Heart two groups stand out distinctly. In the one the hero is slain by the husband of the lady whose love he has won, and it is the husband who cuts the heart from his victim's body. In the other group the hero, dying at a distance from his lady, commands his servant to carry his heart after his death to his lady as proof of his fidelity, and when the messenger arrives with his relic near the lady's castle, he meets with the husband and is forced by him to surrender the box which contains the hero's heart.

In the majority of the texts of either group the hero is a knight, but there is a distinct line of tradition appearing in both by which the cruel adventure is attributed to a poet. The matter would be simple if it could be shown clearly that the Provençal biography of the troubadour Guillem de Cabestaing, the oldest of the texts showing this feature, were the source of this variation. But this view of the question has so far met with scant favor. The grouping of the texts involved is fraught with great difficulty, and consensus of opinion with reference to this relation has not yet been reached. This side of the problem I intend to discuss at

[1] See Patzig, *Zur Geschichte der Herzmäre*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 6-8; and Ahlström, *Studier i den Fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, pp. 127-129.

length at some future date in a larger study of the 'Legend of the Eaten Heart.'* The point which I have selected for examination here is concerned in the first place with the source and composition of the *Roman du Châtelain de Couci,* the representative text of the second group and at the same time the foremost literary member of the whole cycle. But in order to make this discussion clear it will be necessary at least to outline the claims of the three scholars who have given consideration to the problem.

We may disregard here the Indian story published by Swynnerton in the *Folklore Journal,* Vol. I, 1883. The versions that concern us more directly are the Biography of Guillem de Cabestaing[2] and Boccaccio's story of Messer Guiglielmo Rossiglione e Messer Guiglielmo Guardastagno.[3] The question is what relation these two stories hold to the French *roman d'aventure.* Gaston Paris believed[4] that a lost Provençal version was the source of both the Biography and the Italian story, and that from this lost version had sprung also a French version which in turn became the source of the *Châtelain de Couci* and several other texts related to it. Patzig[5] rejected this filiation and tried to prove that the Provençal Biography was Boccaccio's direct source, and that the French poem also derives from it, but that at least two intermediate forms of the story which have disappeared are necessary to explain the Old French poem and its closest congeners. Ahlström,[6] finally, derived the whole tradition in its literary form from the *Guirun* lay, sung by Isolt, according to the Thomas version.[7] Thru lost intermediate stages, but along independent lines, this story on the one hand became

* See editor's note, *infra,* p. 16.

[2] See Mahn, *Biographieen der Troubadours,* 2d. ed., pp. 3 ss.; and also Bartsch, *Chrestomathie provençale,* cols. 231-234.

[3] *Decamerone* IV, 9.

[4] *Romania* VIII, pp. 343-373, and XII, pp. 359-363.

[5] *Op. cit.,* p. 21. [6] *L. c.*

[7] See Bédier, *Roman de Tristan,* I, p. 295.

the *Biography* from which Boccaccio drew his material, and on the other gave the version found in the *roman d'aventure*.

The *Roman du Châtelain de Couci* is rather inaccessible in its complete form, the only existing edition being that published by Crapelet in 1829. [8] The contents of the poem have, however, become familiar to students of medieval literature thru an article by Gaston Paris,[9] and more recently thru the long digest of the story by Langlois. [10] We may content ourselves therefore with a brief outline.

The hero is Renaut, Châtelain de Couci, the heroine is called *la dame de Faiel*. Rejected at first, the châtelain decides to win the love of his fair lady thru the fame that will cling to his name from evidences of eminence in the qualifications of knighthood. The poem thus describes his visits to the castle of Faiel, recites tournaments in which he wins renown, and tells the hero's gradual conquest of his lady's heart. When she finally grants him her love, the visits are arranged with the greatest secrecy, and every precaution is taken to make it appear that not the lady of Faiel, but Yzabel, her maid, is the object of the châtelain's love. Another lady falls in love with him. When her advances are disdained, she suspects and discovers the secret, and informs the husband, who conceals himself and thus is able to interrupt one of these interviews. Yzabel now sacrifices her own reputation for that of her mistress. Outwitted but not convinced, the husband guards the lady carefully. Yzabel is sent away and further meetings of the lady of Faiel with the châtelain are made impossible.

Now follows a series of stealthy visits in which Gobert, a faithful squire of the châtelain, who is able to play a double

[8] *L'Histoire du Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel.* I have in preparation a new edition of the poem which I hope to finish in the near future.

[9] *Ro.* VIII, pp. 343-373; see also *Hist. litt.*, XXVIII, pp. 352-390.

[10] *La Société française au XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1904, pp. 186-221.

rôle, being apparently the husband's spy, renders signal aid in the intrigue. The châtelain first takes cruel revenge upon the jealous lady who had betrayed his secret. Then during an absence of the husband, Gobert brings him to the castle of Faiel under the disguise of a knight wounded in a tournament. This is followed by a pilgrimage to Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, which the lady is forced to undertake in the company of her husband. Passing thru a ford before a mill, she lets herself fall into the water and then enters the mill where the châtelain is waiting for her, while a servant is sent to fetch dry clothing.

The husband, thoroly aroused, now announces his intention to join the crusade and take his wife along, fully confident that the châtelain would be informed of this plan and take the cross at the same time. Soon afterwards the châtelain comes to the castle disguised as a traveling merchant. He is told of the husband's decision, and in consequence he goes to England and joins the army of Richard. So soon, however, as the husband learns that his ruse has been successful, he refuses to take the cross.

The châtelain now comes to the castle, disguised as a blind beggar, to say farewell, and the lady gives him a braid of her hair as a keepsake, to remind him of her love on the journey beyond the sea.

These incidents are followed by the account of the crusade and the châtelain's death. After an absence of two years, he is wounded during a battle by a poisoned arrow. The wound does not heal, and, desirous of seeing his lady again, he embarks to return to France. During the journey he grows worse, and, feeling death approaching, he commands Gobert to cut his heart from his body after his death, and to carry it in a box to the lady of Faiel, together with a letter which he dictates to a clerc and the braid of hair. Then he dies and is buried at Brindisi.

The squire continues the journey. As he approaches the castle he meets the husband, who at once suspects his

mission. He draws from Gobert the news of the châtelain's death, learns the contents of the box, takes it from him, and drives him away. Then he returns to the castle and commands his cook to prepare the heart for his lady's dinner. She lauds the taste of the dish, is told its nature, and is shown the box with the braid of hair and the letter. Saying that she will touch no other food after such a delicious meal, she swoons and dies.

Fearful of the consequences of his action, the husband causes her to be buried with honors, but the lady's family suspects him of having caused her death, and he is forced to leave the country. He goes to the Holy Land, whence he returns after a long interval, and soon thereafter dies.

A story closely similar in form was printed by Fauchet,[11] who drew his version from a *Chronique* in his possession, now the property of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.[12] It was Léopold Delisle who directed attention to this fact in 1879 in a communication read before the Académie des Inscriptions.[13] I print this version, drawn anew from the manu-

[11] *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie françoise*, Paris, 1581, pp. 124-128.

[12] MS. fr. 5003, fos. 257 v. to 258 v.

[13] See the *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1879, p. 199, and a note by Gaston Paris in *Ro.* VIII, p. 633. The MS. is described in the *Catalogue des* MSS. *fr. de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1895) IV, p. 468, as follows: Chronique de France allant jusqu'au règne de Charles VI (1380). L'auteur a fait beaucoup d'emprunts aux anciens romans français. Le commencement manque . . . . Ce MS. a appartenu au président Fauchet, qui y a mis de nombreuses notes marginales. On lit en effet au fol. 1 et au fol. 386 la note suivante: "A Claude Fauchet conseiller du roy, président en la cour des monnoies." Une main postérieure a ajouté (fol. 386): "Il y a parmi les MSS. de Me. Daguesseau, chancelier de France, une copie de cette chronique faite vers l'an 1550." Au fol. 381 sont plusieurs proverbes. Papier XV s. . . . It is to the point to emphasize here the fact that the marginal notes to be spoken of later are not the work of Fauchet, but were written by this unknown hand, apparently in the eighteenth century.

script, here in full both because of its importance, and because of the rarity and inaccessibility of Fauchet's work. It has been copied several times from the book in question, the last time, so far as I know, by F. Michel.[14]

[f. 257 v.] Ou temps que le roy Philippe regnoit et le roy Richart d'Angleterre vivoit il avoit en Vermendois ung aultre moult gentil gallart preux chevalier en armes qui s'apeloit Regnault de Coucy, et estoit chastelain de Coucy. Ce chevalier fut moult amoureux d'unne dame du pays qui estoit femme du seigneur de Faiel. Moult orent de paine et travail pour leurs amours, ce chastelain de Coucy et la dame de Faiel si comme l'istoire le raconte qui parle de leur vie dont il y a Romant propre. Or advint que quant les voyages d'oultremer se firent, dont il est parlé cy dessus, que les roys de France et d'Angleterre y furent, le chastelain de Coucy y fut pour ce qu'il exercitoit voulentiers les armes. La dame de Faiel, quant elle sceut qu'il s'en devoit aler, fist ung las de soye moult bel et bien fait, et y avoit de ses cheveux ouvrez parmi la soye dont l'euvre sembloit moult belle et riche, dont il lyoit ung bourrelet moult riche par dessus son heaulme et avoit loinz pendans par derriere a gros boutons de perles. Le chastelain ala oultremer a grant regret de laissier sa dame par dessa. Quant il fut oultre il fist moult de chevaleries, car il estoit vaillant chevalier et avoit grant joye que on rapportast par dessa nouvelles de ses fais, affin que sa dame y print plaisir. Sy advint que a ung siege que les chrestiens tenoyent devant sarrazins oultre [f. 258 r.] mer ce chastelains fut feru d'un quarel ou costé bien avant, du quel coup il luy convint mourir. Sy avoit a sa mort moult grant regret a sa dame, et pour ce apela ung sien escuyer et lui dist: "Je te prie que quant je seray mort que tu prengnes mon cueur et le met en telle manière que tu le puisses porter en France a madame de Faiel et l'envelopes de ces

[14] *Chansons du Châtelain de Couci*, Paris, 1830.

lenges ycy." Et luy bailla le las que la dame avoit fait de ses cheveulx, et ung petit escriniet, ou il avoit plusieurs anelés et dyamans que la dame luy avoit donnez, qu'il portoit tousjours avant luy pour l'amour et souvenance d'elle. Quant le chevalier fut mort ainsy le fit l'escuyer et prist l'escriniet et luy ovri le corps et prist le cueur, et sala et confit bien en bonnes espices, et mist en l'escrinet avecques le las de ses cheveulx et ung petit escrinet ou il avoit pluysieurs anelés et dyamans que la dame luy avoit donnez,[15] et avecques unes lettres moult piteuses que le chastelain avoit escriptes a sa mort et signees de sa main. Quant l'escuyer fut retourné en France il vint vers le lieu ou la dame demouroit, et se bouta en ung boys pres de ce lieu et luy mesavint tellement qu'il fut veu du seigneur de Faiel qui bien le congneut. Sy vint le seigneur de[16] Fayel atout deux de ses privez en ce boys et trouva cest escuyer auquel il voult courir sus ou despit de son maistre qu'il haioit plus que homme du monde. L'escuyer luy crya mercy, et le chevalier luy dist: "Ou je te ocirray ou tu me diras ou est le chastelain." L'escuyer luy dist qu'il estoit trespassé. Et pour ce qu'il ne l'en vouloit croire et avoit cest escuyer paour de morir il luy moustra l'escrinet pour l'en faire certain. Le seigneur de[17] Fayel print l'escrinet et donna congé a l'escuyer. Et le seigneur vint a son queux et luy dist qu'il mist ce cueur en si bonne manyere et l'apparellast[18] en telle confiture que on en peut bien menger. Li queulx le fist et fist d'aultre viande[19] toute parelle et mist en bonne charpie en ung plat, et en fut la dame servie au disner, et le seigneur mengoit d'une autre viande qui luy ressembloit, et ainsy menga la dame le cueur du chastelain son amy. Quant elle ot mengé le seigneur luy demanda: "Dame, avez vous mengé bonne viande?" Et celle luy respondy qu'elle l'avoit mengé bonne. Il luy dist:

[15] The MS. adds, et avec le las de ses cheveulx.
[16] MS. du.
[17] MS. du.
[18] MS. apparellasst.
[19] MS. viaulde.

" Pour cela vous l'ay je fait apparellier car c'est une viande que vous avez moult amee." La dame qui jamais ne pensast que ce fut n'en dist plus riens. Et le seigneur luy dist derechef: " Savez que vous [20] avez mengé?" Et elle respondi que non. Et il luy dist: " Adont or sachez que vous avez mengé le cueur du chastelain de Coucy." Quant elle oyt ce, sy fut en grant pensee pour la souvenance qu'elle eust de son amy. Mais encore ne peust elle croire ceste chose jusques a [21] ce que le seigneur luy bailla l'escrinet et les lettres, en quant elle vit les choses qui estoient dedens l'escrin, elle les congneut, si commença a lire les lettres. Quant elle congneut son signe manuel et les ensengnes, adont commença fort a changer et avoir couleur et puis commença forment a penser, et quant elle ot pensé elle dit a son seigneur: " Il est vray que ceste viande ay je moult amee et croy qu'il soit mort dont est dommage, comme du plus loyal chevalier du monde. Et vous m'avez fait menger son cueur, et est la derniere viande que je mengeray [22] oncques, ne oncques je ne menjay point de si noble ne de si gentil viande. Sy n'est pas raison que apres si gentil viande je doye en mettre aultre dessus, et vous jure par ma foy que jamais je ne mengeray d'aultre viande apres ceste cy." La dame leva du disner et s'en ala en sa chambre faisant moult grant douleur, et plus avoit de douleur qu'elle n'en moustroit la chiere. Et en celle doleur a grant regret et complaintes de la mort de son amy fina sa vie et mourut. De ceste chose fut le seigneur de Fayel couroucé, mais il n'y peut mettre remede, ne homme ne femme du monde. Ceste chose fut sceu par tout le pays et en ot grant guerre le seigneur de Fayel aux amis de sa femme tant qu'il convint que la chose fut rapaisee du roy et des barons du pays. Ainsy finerent les amours du chastelain du Coucy et de la dame de Fayel.

This *Chronique* has so far not received the attention which

[20] MS. vomz. [21] MS. ad. [22] MS. menjay.

it merits. Beschnidt examined it rapidly in his dissertation, *Die Biographie des Trobadors Guillem de Capestaing,*[23] and came to the conclusion[24] that it is based partly on our *roman d'aventure* and partly on what was probably a Latin account of the story, and at the same time the real source of the Old French poem and the Provençal biography. Gaston Paris[25] rejected this theory and returned to the older belief that the *Chronique* represents nothing but a brief digest of the Old French poem. Patzig[26] examined it somewhat more carefully and noted some of its most striking features, but he did not go into the question at sufficient length, and in the end he accepted an explanation but slightly different from that proposed by Beschnidt.

The initial difficulty of the problem lies in the clause of the *Chronique: si come l'istoire le raconte qui parle de leur vie dont il y a romant propre.* Together with others, both Beschnidt and Patzig believed that the *histoire* and the *romant propre* are two different texts which the author of the *Chronique* combined. Yet it is evident that such a method would presuppose a critical attitude scarcely to be expected on the part of its author. We are ready, therefore, to accept the interpretation of the clause given by Gaston Paris: '*comme le raconte l'histoire de leur vie, car il existe un roman qui leur est particulièrement consacré.*' However, even then the difficulty is not removed, for we shall presently see that the *roman* of which we know cannot have been the source of the *Chronique.* To meet this difficulty, the claim might be advanced that another version of our story must have existed, also in the form of a *roman d'aventure,* as for example is true of *Tristan* or *Floire et Blancheflor.* There would be no way of substantiating this claim, but in support of it attention might be called to the marginal notes of the *Chronique* added by the unidentified eighteenth century hand: *Histoire*

[23] Marburg, 1879.
[24] P. 25.
[25] *Ro.* VIII, p. 369, n. 4.
[26] *Op. cit.,* p. 20.

du Chast. de Coucy on the left side of this passage, and *Romant des amours du chastelain de Coucy.* While the former is the constant marginal note describing the contents, the latter is plainly intended as the title of the *romant propre.* Is the form of this title the invention of the unknown annotator, or does it belong to a manuscript or version of the story which he knew? If the second of these possibilities were correct, then we should have here evidence of the fact that as late as the eighteenth century there existed some version or manuscript with a title differing from those known at present. Crapelet's manuscript bears the superscription: *Ci commence li Roumans dou chastelain de Couci et de la dame du Faiiel;* the other available manuscript reads: *Ch'est li romans du castelain de Couci;* a third, cited by Crapelet, p. xv, from the inventory of the library of Charles V made in 1373, cites a poem *du chastelain de Coucy, de la dame de Fayel,* with a later similar record in 1415, but all trace of this manuscript has disappeared.[27] However, while this marginal note might be evidence of another version, there is no way by which the fact could be proved, and it is therefore not worth while to dwell on it. Moreover, the assumption of a second version of our story is unnecessary, and the relation of the *roman d'aventure* and the *Chronique* finds a satisfactory explanation along another road. Let us first compare the two versions and note the differences.

The *Chronique* knows nothing of the hero's profession as trouvère. Regnault de Coucy is a *moult gentil gallart preux chevalier en armes.* He joins the crusade of Philippe and Richard of his own accord, *pour ce qu'il exercitoit voulentiers les armes.* The keepsake which the lady of Faiel gives him is not a braid of her hair, but *ung las de soye moult bel et bien fait, et y avoit de ses cheveux ouvrez parmi la soye.* In the Holy Land the châtelain is spurred on to deeds of valor by

[27] Cf. also Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Paris, 1907, Vol. II, p. 186.

the knowledge of the pleasure that his lady will experience when she hears of them. The arrow which wounds him is not poisoned, and his death apparently occurs on land, or at least no mention is made of any preparations for the homeward journey. Together with his heart, and the *las que la dame avoit fait de ses cheveulx,* he sends to her *plusieurs anelés et dynamans que le dame lui avoit donnez.* The letter which accompanies these gifts was written and signed by the châtelain himself before his death. The squire meets the husband, accompanied by two of his men. When the dreadful meal has been eaten, the lady lauds its taste, not of her own impulse, as in the *roman,* but in answer to the question of her husband. When she realizes what has happened she does not swoon, as in the poem, but she goes to her room, *faisant moult grant douleur . . . . Et en celle doleur . . . . fina sa vie et mourut.* And, finally, when the deed becomes known, the family of the lady makes war upon the *seigneur de Fayel.*

These differences are fundamental and remain unexplained on the assumption that the author of the *Chronique* made a careless rendering of the poem. How could he forget that the hero was known in Palestine as

> Li chevaliers as grans proueces
> Qui sus son elme porte treces (Crapelet, 7477)

that he was sent on the crusade thru a ruse of the husband, that he was wounded by a poisoned arrow, and that he died on the ship during his return journey? We have definite evidence here of the existence of another version of the châtelain de Coucy story, and in addition we may unquestionably conclude that it was older than and independent of the *roman d'aventure,* for the literary form of this poem would have prevented the fabrication of a new version differing from it in important and fundamental details. There is further evidence that this older form of the story stood in close relation to the Provençal Biography, for there also the

cruel husband is punished by the relatives of his wife. Since a closely similar ending is found also in the Indian version published by Swynnerton, its reappearance here cannot be due to accident.

The evidence brought forward here necessitates a readjustment of all the facts accepted so far with reference to the source and composition of the poem of Jakemon Maket.[28] In the first place, we shall be able to understand better the manner in which this legend of the eaten heart became associated with the Châtelain de Couci. The *roman* calls him Renault, and Gaston Paris [29] accepted this as the name of the trouvère. Believing further that Maket was the first to connect the story with the châtelain, he saw the initial reason for it in the tone of the Châtelain de Couci's poem beginning *A vous, amant, plus qu'a nule autre gent,* which Maket cites. Some years later Fath [30] showed that the name of the trouvère was in reality Gui de Couci, and that he was unmarried and had died and been buried at sea during the fourth crusade, a fact mentioned by Villehardouin, § 124. Maket's identification appeared, therefore, to be a mistake, and Fath saw its explanation in the fact that manuscripts containing the châtelain's songs always refer to him simply as the Châtelain de Couci. Living in Vermandois during the second half of the thirteenth century, our author knew at least two châtelains of Couci by the name of Renaut, and he might easily have inferred that the trouvère bore the same name.

[28] The acrostic in the better of the two known manuscripts reads *Jakemes Makes,* of which *Jakemon Maket* would be the accusative form, and this should be accepted as the author's name; cf. also Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 221. It is interesting in this connection to point out a threefold mention of a person or persons of this name, of course not our author, in Tournai toward the end of the thirteenth century: cf. *Zwei altfranz. Friedensregister der Stadt Tournai,* published by Benary, *RF.* XXV, p. 156.

[29] *Ro.* VIII, p. 353 ss.

[30] *Die Lieder des Castellans von Coucy,* Heidelberg, 1883.

The evidence before us, however, points in a different direction. The *Chronique* also calls the hero Renaut, and this fact makes it extremely likely that this name existed already in the earlier and simpler version from which the *Chronique* derives. To be sure this text is late and the great popularity of Maket's poem might have influenced its author, just as it caused this same name to be introduced into at least one of the lyric manuscripts, Brit. Mus. Egerton, 274.[31] There is, however, no reason to think that this was the case here, for the whole story in the *Chronique* is told in a straightforward manner without any evidence of additions or changes, and the hero is described as '*ung aultre*[32] *moult gentil gallart preux chevalier en armes qui s'apeloit Regnault de Coucy, et estoit chastelain de Coucy.*' This detail in the short account must have identical value with the other characteristic traits emphasized above. If the author had intended to describe his hero in the light of Maket's poem, he would have called Renaut a trouvère. The omission of this detail is reasonable before, but not after, the composition of the *roman d'aventure*. It follows, then, that the confusion of names is not due to Maket, and that the earlier version also called the hero *Renaut, châtelain de Couci*, but it would be wrong to infer further that the hero was some other châtelain de Couci and not the famous trouvère. When the name of a poet had once been introduced into the story in Provence, it was natural that in a different region another poet should be similarly treated.

The reasons why Guillem de Cabestaing was singled out in the first place are beyond our reach. Perhaps the name of the hero in the lost Provençal version, from which the Biography derives and of which we have an imperfect echo in the Guardastagno of Boccaccio, gave the impetus. Carried

[31] See Fath, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[32] Evidently other knights had been spoken of in previous sections of the *Chronique*.

to the north of France, the story became attached to the figure of the Châtelain de Couci, whom tradition wrongly called Renaut. Why he should have been selected remains equally obscure. His songs are in many respects not very different from hundreds of other lyrics of the period. Yet there is in several of them a note of reality, a certain definiteness of situation, which create the impression that they are based on more than mere commonplaces of lyric composition. At any rate the Châtelain de Couci was looked upon as one of the serious lovers of his profession. He had been a member of the fourth crusade, had made the pain of parting from his lady the subject of his song, had celebrated the fact that his heart was left behind with his love, had died during the journey, and had been buried at sea. We may also imagine that, in accord with a frequent custom of the period, his heart had been cut from his body by his attendants and brought back to his native land for burial. All these facts must have been active in attracting the story to him. His name was in reality Gui, but he was commonly known rather by the office which he held, an office hereditary in his family. Thus the Châtelain de Couci became the hero of a new form of our story, and a name which was probably frequent in this well-known family was attributed to him.

In this effort to trace the road over which the tradition traveled before it found a literary form in the poem of Jakemon Maket, we must not be misled by the story as this author tells it. He made numerous additions to the plot, added the lyrics, following the fashion set by the author of *Guillaume de Dole,* and in a general way elaborated the trouvère side of his hero, but his source as such was probably closely similar to the form of the story preserved for us in the *Chronique.* What the nature of this source was must remain a mere matter of surmise. It may be that it had already been utilized for some earlier *roman d'aventure,* of which the much discussed lay of *Guirun* might be an evidence. It may also have been a simple story modeled upon the Provençal

biography, with which the *Chronique* shows some striking similarity. The whole new setting of the story is due to the change of hero, who, tho a poet, joins the crusade in his capacity as knight and dies during his absence from home.

This point of view allows us to estimate more accurately than has been possible heretofore the methods followed by Jakemon Maket in the composition of his poem. It explains in the first place why the character of the hero as a knight appears so prominently in the poem. The poet attracted the story, but this side of him remained undeveloped in the earlier version. Maket decided to give it prominence, but he failed to work his additions into an integral part of the whole picture. His hero wins the love of his lady thru his prowess in tournaments and jousts, in fact he frequents these gatherings so that the report of his valor may come to the ears of the lady of Faiel, just as in the *Chronique* the châtelain hopes that she may hear of his deeds during the crusade.

In the next place he weaves into his plot certain characteristic themes from the Tristan legend. Yzabel plays the role of Brangien, the husband watches an interview of the châtelain and his wife and is deceived as to the real relation between the two, just as Mark is constantly misled concerning the love of Tristan and Isolt. He introduces a series of stealthy interviews in which the châtelain meets the lady in disguise, as Tristan meets Isolt, and for one of these scenes he utilizes a theme which he probably knew from the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras. Finally, he draws on the Tristan legend for the ruse which the husband employs to induce the châtelain to take the cross. The *Chronique* states that the hero joined the crusade because of his love of warfare. He introduced the lyrics as already indicated, and developed to the full the poetic significance of the lyric commonplace of the lover's heart, which Chrestien had combatted in his *Cligès*.[33] The jealous lady, who betrays his secret, belongs probably to

[33] Cf. Von Hamel, *Ro.* XXXIII, p. 470.

the *Châtelaine de Vergi*. Certain other borrowings have been indicated by Gröber.[34]

This conception of the origin of Jakemon Maket's fine composition I believe is essentially correct. As far as I can see, it is in entire harmony with the history of the legend as a whole. But space forbids me to go into the subject here more at length. A full treatment of the whole question must be deferred for another occasion.*

The facts brought forward here do not clear up entirely the relation of Konrad von Würzburg's poem and the Exemplum to our poem. The German poem relates the following story.

Das Herze. A knight and a lady love each other, but they can not meet as they wish because the lady is jealously guarded by her husband, especially when he begins to suspect her passion. To win her back and to make the two lovers forget each other, he decides to take her with him on a journey to the Holy Land. When the knight hears of this plan he decides at once to follow them; and the lady is much pleased with this decision. She even advises him to begin this journey at once, so that the husband, when he hears of it, may lose his suspicion and leave her at home. The knight agrees to her wish, accepts a ring from her as a keepsake, and parts from her with a heavy heart and sad forebodings.

He goes across the sea and lives there, lonesome and shunning all amusements, in the hope of seeing his lady again. In the end his grief grows so strong that he feels his death approaching. He commands his squire to cut his heart from his body after his death, to place it in a golden box together with the ring of his lady, and to carry it to her. Then he dies and the squire executes his commands.

When he comes near the lady's castle, he meets the husband, out with his falcons. The husband recognizes the squire, at once

[34] *Grundriss*, II. Band, I. Abtlg., p. 772.

* The study printed above had been completed and sent in to the editors of this volume before Professor Matzke's death. A portion of the larger study to which he referred (*supra*, p. 2) was found among his papers, and has been published in MLN. XXVI, pp. 1-8, with the exception of the treatment of the German versions, which has been appended to the present article.

F. M. W.

suspects a message, and seeing the golden box attached to the squire's belt asks him about its contents. The squire tries to avoid giving an answer, the knight then forces him to give it up, and, when he has seen the objects it contains, at once guesses their destination. He sends the squire on his way with threats, returns home, gives the heart to the cook and orders him to prepare it for the table. Then he sits down to eat with his wife, and offers her the dish which he says was prepared only for her. She eats it, not suspecting its nature, and, thinking that she has never eaten finer food, asks what its nature is. The husband shows her the ring, and tells her what she has eaten and how he has gained possession of the heart. The lady falls into a swoon, exclaiming that after such a delicious dish God forbid that she should take any food. And thereupon her grief becomes so violent that she clasps her hands in despair and her heart bursts.

It is evident that this poem cannot derive from the poem of Jakemon Maket. The reasons which militate against this belief are clearly stated by Gaston Paris.[35] Comparison with the *Chronique* also shows fundamental differences, so that the version given the story by Konrad von Würzburg would seem to have no direct relation to either of the other two. On the other hand, the general framework of the German poem is closely similar to that of the two French versions. The journey to the Holy Land, the lover's death in that part of the world, the function of the squire in the story, and the method by which the husband obtains possession of the heart, all these are elements which are not likely to have been added to the story at different times, independently of each other. The German poem must be related to the French version.

But the evidence at hand is not sufficient to allow us to solve the problem. Certainly no conclusions should be drawn from an argument *ex silentio*. Konrad von Würzburg may not have known that Renaut, Châtelain de Couci, was a trouvère, if that name stood in his source, for this fact is not stated in the *Chronique*. He may have misunderstood the references to the crusades, or they may not have interested him, and he may have preferred to treat this portion of his source in his own way.

We are thus forced to look upon the German poem as an independent offspring of the source of Jakemon Maket and the *Chronique*, where the transmission has become altered, either because intervening links are lost or because the German author treated his material freely.

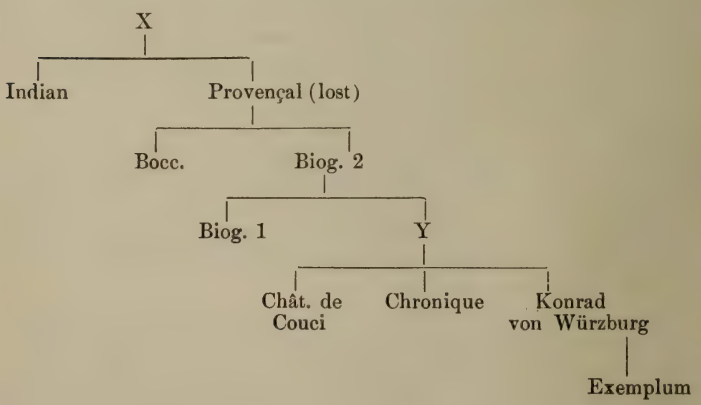
The fourth member in this group is an exemplum cited in a

[35] *Ro.* VIII, p. 366.

collection of sermons often printed in the fifteenth century under the title of *Sermones parati*. Gaston Paris [36] believed that it is based upon the lost source of Konrad von Würzburg. For the sake of completeness we print the short text anew. Comparison with our abstract of the German poem will make it clear that it is closely related to it, and, considering its date, we are inclined to look upon it as a derivative of this poem rather than its source.

Quidam miles turpiter adamavit uxorem alterius militis. Contigit autem ipsum mare transire; cumque ibi infirmaretur et morti appropinquaret, ita fatuus erat et ita excecatus amore mulieris quod nec communicare nec confiteri voluit. Precepit autem servo suo ut eo mortuo cor suum amice sue in pixide portaret; quod cum fecisset et reversus vellet intrare castrum illius domine, occurrit ei vir ejus et quesivit ab eo quid de transmarinis partibus portaret; et cum nihil responderet coegit eum ut diceret; et accipiens cor istud conditum in pixide (et) bene coctum dedit uxori sue ut comederet. Cumque comedisset quesivit de domina dicens: Dilexisti etiam illum militem qui mare transivit. Et illa rubedine perfusa loqui non audebat. Et dixit miles: Sciatis, domina, quod cor dilecti vestri vobis de transmarinis partibus missum comedistis. Et illa respondit: Et certe ego post illum cibum nunquam alium cibum comedam. Et interfecit seipsam. Ecce quomodo luxuria istos duos fatuos fecit et excecavit.

The relation established so far is the following:



[36] *L. c.*, p. 367, note 2.

THE CASTLE OF THE GRAIL—AN IRISH ANALOGUE

BY

WILLIAM A. NITZE

Crestien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach agree, as compared with the other grail romances, in describing more or less precisely the external setting in which the ceremony of the grail takes place. More than any of their contemporaries (1180 to 1205), they give to it a local habitation and a name, the remoteness and unfamiliarity of which must have excited the wonder, and stimulated the imagination, of those who came after them. Thus in the *Titurel* of Albrecht von Scharfenberg, composed during the latter part of the thirteenth century, the temple of the grail is a church of matchless splendor, the architectural ideal of a mystical Christian brotherhood.[1] But of the simpler, more characteristic description of Crestien and Wolfram only indistinct traces survive in later works, such as the *Prose Perceval*,[2] the *Perlesvaus*[3] (Gawain's visit) and the *Peredur*.[4] Here the location of the castle is still beyond a river (lake) and behind a mountain, as the Fisher King had said, but the hall (*sale*) in which the holy vessel appears does not differ formally from any typical baronial hall of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. And in the *Peredur* alone do we still find mention of the fire in front of which the host and his visitors are seated,

[1] Cf. F. Zarncke, *Der Graltempel, Sächs. Akad.* VII, 1876.

[2] Jessie L. Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, pp. 57 ff.

[3] Potvin I, 86, 128 ff. But it is Lancelot not Gawain, who meets the fishermen.

[4] Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 45 ff., 56.

though beyond the bare statement of this fact nothing is said of the castle and its equipment. The *Crône,* replete as it is otherwise with valuable information especially on the grail, contains no evidence of importance [5] on our subject.

Thus the grail castle descriptions of Crestien and Wolfram are distinct in character, and have a marked resemblance to each other. It would be folly to attempt to decide *a priori* their immediate relationship. So much only is certain that here Wolfram is either following the French poet with some elaboration, or else he is using a source close to Crestien's. For the moment it matters little which view we prefer since the ultimate origin of both accounts must be the same. But from what we now know of Crestien's methods in other cases; that is, his characteristic habit of retaining in his story marked details of his original, regardless often of their relevancy to the feudal conditions he describes, we may assume that here, too, he drew on a definite source. It is more than probable that the latter was identical with the *livre* given him by Philip of Flanders:

[5] The following citations show that Heinrich's conception of the castle was that of Crestien, though no fireplace is mentioned.

Dirre wîte und lange sal
Wart vol von in überal
Und die tische bevangen.
vv. 29271 ff.

Die kerzen und kerzstal
Truogen vil âne zal
Daz machte den sal alsô lieht,
Daz man mochte vervâhen nieht,
Ob ez tac oder naht waere.
29282 ff.

Der wirth saz under den drin
Den sal umbe und umbe umb in
Die andern besâzen;
Mit einander dâ âzen
Ein ritter und eine vrouwe ie.
29298 ff.

Ce est li contes del graal
Don li cuens li bailla le livre.[6]

But, however that may be, the source[7] already contained Celtic material, for Crestien's *scenario,* the Grail Palace, practically reproduces the Banqueting or Mead House of the Irish heroic saga. I propose to discuss in the following pages the bearing of this analogue on the origin of the grail question. Before doing so, it will be necessary to outline in detail Crestien's and Wolfram's respective descriptions of the grail castle.

I.

In the *Perceval,*[8] after the hero has mounted the hill (*puy*) to which the fisherman had directed him, seeing nothing but

[6] MS. printed by Baist (see below, note 8), vv. 66-67.

[7] I assume, of course, that the central event of the romance was found in Philip's book, and that it had to do with the grail ceremony. Baist is inclined to think (see *Parzival u. der Gral,* Freiburg, 1909, p. 19) that in the source the counsels (*Weisheitslehren*) were more closely bound up with the action than in Crestien. This seems to me possible, if it can be shown, as I believe it can, that the grail ceremony is an "initiation." At the same time, Crestien, as we see from his other works, was essentially a scholastic in training and temperament. This fact in itself would explain the emphasis he places on questions of conduct, see my *Fountain Defended,* in *Mod. Phil.* VII, 146. In vv. 4608 ff. Crestien likens the theme to a quest of Fortune (cf. *Perlesvaus,* Pot. I, 24 ff.), and a frequent citation of proverbs is characteristic of his works. His relationship to the mediæval learning should be investigated. Further, compare the instructions given by Gornemanz, vv. 1610 ff. with the *Ordene de Chevalerie,* printed by Méon, *Fab.* I, 59 ff.

[8] I quote from Baist's text, privately printed, Freiburg, 1910. Of the value of this version Baist says: "Eine genaue Wiedergabe der Hs. 794 ist der Abdruck erst von v. 6175 an, bis dahin Auszug einer Collation, welche die Eigenart des champagnischen Schreibers wohl im Grossen u. Ganzen, aber doch nicht mit der wünschenswerten absoluten Genauigkeit wiedergiebt."

sky and land, he accuses his guide of deception. Presently, however, he perceives nearby

(*a*) an un val
Le chief d'une tor qui parut;
L'an ne trovast jusqu' a Barut
Si bele ne si bien asise.
Quarree fu de pierre bise,
Si auoit [deus] torneles antor,
La sale fu devant la tor
E les loges devant la sale.
[vv. 3012 ff., Baist].

When he has ridden thither, dismounted, and put on a "mantel d'escarlate," the host despatches two squires to greet him in the *loges*.

E cil avoec ax s'an ala
(*b*) An la sale qui fu quarree
E autant longue come lee;
Enmi la sale sor un lit
Un bel prodome seoir vit
Que estoit de chenez meslez
E ses chies fu anchapelez
D'un sebelin noir come more;
A une porpre vox desore
E d'itel fu sa robe tote,
Apoiez fu desor son cote.[9]
(*c*) Si ot *devant lui* un feu grant
De sesche busche bien ardant,
(d) E fu antre quatre colomes.

[9] Cf. a similar description in the *Perlesvaus*, Potvin I, 86 ff: Et li rois Peschières gisoit an un lit cordëiz dont li quepou estoient d'ivoire, et avoit une coute de paille sor quoi il gisoit et par desus I couvertoir de sable, dont li dras estoit mout riches. Et avoit un chapel de sebelin an son chief, couvert d'un vermeil samiz de soie, et une croiz d'or; et avoit desouz son chief I oreiller qui touz estoit anbaumez, et avoit an IIII cornez de l'orillier IIII pierres qui randoient mout grant clarté; et avoit I piler de coivre sor quoi I aigle seoit qui tenoit une croiz d'or.

Bien poïst an quatre cent homes
Asseoir anviron le feu,
S'aüst chascuns aeisié leu.
Les colomes forz i estoient,
Qui le cheminal sostenoient,
D'arain espes e haut e lé.

The host invites Perceval to sit beside him:

Li vaslez est lez lui asis.

Then the sword is presented;

la sore pucele
Vostre niece qui tant est bele
Vos anvoie ci cest present.

Perceval finally hands it to

un bacheler
Antor le feu qui cler ardoit.

The light there is

Si grant com l'an le porroit faire
De chandoiles an un ostel.

Then the lance and the grail are brought forth. From the latter there streams so great a brilliancy

(*e*) [Qu'] ausi perdirent les chandoiles
Lor clarté come les estoiles
Quant li solauz lieve e la lune.

De fin or esmeré estoit;
Pierres precieuses auoit
El graal de maintes menieres,
Des plus riches e des plus chieres
Qui an mer ne an terre soient.

The grail-bearers pass before Perceval,

E d'un chanbre an autre alerent.

(*f*) Then two squires bring

Une lee table d'ivoire
Ensi con reconte l'estoire
Ele estoit tote d'une piece.

This is placed on

deus eschaces,
Don li fuz a deus bones graces
Don les eschaces fetes furent,
Que les pieces toz jorz andurent,
Don furent eles d'ebenus.
De celui fust ne dot ja nus
Que il porrisse ne qu'il arde;
De ces deus choses n'a il garde.

As each dish is served the grail passes

Par devant lui tot descovert.
Li mangiers fu e biax e buens;
De tel mangier que rois e cuens
E empereres doie avoir
Fu li prodom serviz le soir,
E li vaslez ansanble lui.

(*g*) When it is time to retire the host bids Perceval, who has been marvelling much, good-night, and is carried into his own room:

"Je n'ai nul pooir de mon cors
Si covandra que l'an m'an port."

But Perceval goes to bed in the hall where they have been sitting, and in the morning when he awakes he finds it deserted and all the doors to the adjoining rooms bolted. The entrance (*l'uis*) to the hall, however, is open; and passing out, he discovers at the foot of the steps his horse saddled and his lance and shield in readiness for him.

According to the *Parzival*[10] (v), P. had come by a long

[10] Ed. Martin, Halle, 1900-1903.

journey, "über ronen und durchez mos" to a lake.[11] Here he meets fishermen, one of whom wears a hat with peacock feathers.[12] The latter sends P. to his house to the right of a rock. This P. finds at once.

(*a*) It is a castle (*burc*), the drawbridge of which is up. Unless the enemy came flying or were blown in by the wind, it could not be stormed—so round and smooth the castle was built.[13] A squire lowers the bridge;[14] and P. rides into the yard, where "ritter jung und alt" welcome him.

[11] In Chrestien it is a "riviere A l'avalee d'une angarde."

[12] On peacock feathers as used by the Irish, see Sullivan's introduction, p. ccccIxxxi to O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.*

[13] See Martin, II, 210, for the translation I give. This feature of the castle suggests Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, vv. 2002-2006 (the House of Tidings):

> "But certein, oon thing I thee telle,
> That, but I bringe thee ther-inne,
> Ne shalt thou never cunne ginne
> To come in-to hit, out of doute,
> So faste hit whirleth, lo, aboute."

Chaucer describes a typical otherworld abode, similar in several characteristics to Wolfram's castle, the castle in *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*, etc. For the latest and fullest treatment, see W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame*, 1907 (*Chaucer Soc.*), pp. 138 ff. The following features are of interest here: an eagle, *i. e.*, a helpful animal (see Sypherd, pp. 95 ff.), bears him thither. The *Hous of Fame*, v. 1116 ff.:

> stood upon so high a roche,
> Hyer stant ther noon in Spaine.

The *Hous*, vv. 1184-1185:

> Al was of stone of beryle,
> Bothe castel and the tour;

and within the hall, 1360-1367:

> But al on hye, above a dees,

[14] See *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ed. Morris, vv. 764 ff., where Gawain has the same experience.

He is then led into a chamber, where he doffs his armor and puts on a "mantel, mit pfelle von Arâbî," the property

> Sitte in a see imperial,
> That maad was of a rubee al,
> Which that a carbuncle is y-called,
> I saugh, perpetually y-stalled,
> A feminynye creature;
> That never formed by nature
> Nas swich another thing y-seye.

Not far away, in a valley, is the House of Tidings (there are often *two* castles in otherworld adventures, a typical example is the *Bel Inconnu*, ed. Hippeau, vv. 2471-2829):

> An hous, that *Domus Dedali*,
> That *Laborintus* cleped is,
> Nas maad so wonderliche, y-wis,
> Ne half so queynteliche y-wrought.
> And ever-mo, so swift as thought,
> This quentye hous aboute wente,
> That never-mo hit stille stente.
>
> vv. 1920-1926.

A "turning" castle is frequent in the romances, see *Perlesvaus*, Pot. I, 195 (Sypherd also mentions, p. 149, the castle in the *Welsh Seint Graal*, which is, however, only a Welsh redaction of the French work); *Crône*, vv. 12945-12966 (*Reht als ein mül, diu dâ malt; Diu mûre was als ein glas Berhtel, hôch unde glat*); *Mule sans Frein*, ed. Méon, I, vv. 440-443; *Wigalois*, ed. Pfeiffer, vv. 6714-7053; *Karlsreise*, vv. 369 ff. (see K. G. T. Webster, *Eng. Studien*, XXXVI, 337 ff., for the Celtic character of this part of the *Karlsreise;* in *Peredur*, Loth II, 92, the otherworld mistress is empress of Constantinople, and in many later Celtic tales the otherworld is Greece). The chief Irish parallels are: the fort of Curoi in the *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, § 81, which "revolved as swiftly as a mill-stone"; and the island of the revolving "fiery rampart" in the *Voyage of Maelduin*, Stokes, *Revue Celtique* X, 81. Rhŷs also claims the same trait for the Welsh *Caer Sidi* (see Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 264-266, 276). For other analogues in folklore and story, see Sypherd, pp. 166 ff., 173 ff.

On La3amon's reference, vv. 22736 ff., to Arthur's feast at Yuletide and to the seating of the knights: *al turne abute, that nan ne beon wiȝute*, see the suggestion of Miss Weston (*Mélanges Wilmotte,*

of Repanse de Schoye, sister of the Fisher King. Thereupon he is invited into the presence of the host.

(*b*) Si giengen ûf ein *palas*.
hundert krône dâ gehangen was,
vil kerzen drûf gestôzen,
ob den hûsgenôzen,
kleine kerzen umbe an der want.
hundert pette er ligen vant
(daz schuofen dies dâ pflâgen):
hundert kulter drûffe lâgen,
Ie *vier gesellen* sundersiz:
da enzwischen was ein underviz,
derfür ein teppich sinewel.
fil lu roy Frimutel
mohte wol geleisten daz. [Martin, § 229, 23 ff.]

One thing is of great importance:

(*c*) mit marmel was gemûret
drî vierekke fiwerrame:
dar ûffe was des fiwers name,
holz hiez lign alôê.

So great a fire was never seen at Wildenberc (see Martin II, 213). The host has himself placed

gein der *mitteln* fiwerstat
ûf ein spanbette.
ez was worden wette
zwischen im und der vröude.

P. sits beside him. The fire had been made because of the host's illness; to keep warm he also wore a sable fur, with a mantle over it; of sable too was his cap upon which shone

ein durchliuhtic rûbin.[15]

Amid lamentations the lance is then carried by.

deprint, 1910, p. 7). But Lazamon's point is that the circular seating places the knights on a plane of equality; cf. A. C. L. Brown, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VII, 186.

[15] Cf. above, *Hous of Fame*, vv. 1360-1367; and Zarncke, *Der*

(*f*) Thereupon two maidens in red follow with candlesticks and a *herzogin u. ir gespil* bring two stands of ivory, upon which others in green place a slab of hyacinth—*grânât jachant*—as a table-top. Upon this [cf. Martin, II, 218] Repanse de Schoye places the grail. Tables are set before the knights in the hall:

für werder rîter viere.

[Martin, *l. c.*, estimates that 1200 persons were present].

The grail provides whatever food is desired:

swâ nâch jener bôt die hant;
daz er al bereite vant
spîse warm, spîse kalt,
spîse niwe unt dar zuo alt,
daz zam unt daz wilde.

swâ nâch den napf ieslîcher bôt,

Graltempel in *Sächs. Gesell. d. Wissensch.* VII (1876), p. 484: "RUBIN, eine Abart des Karfunkel, vgl. Alb. Magn. in Mus. 2, 62 fg.: *Carbunculus, qui Græcæ antrax et a nonnullis rubinus vocatur.*" On the carbuncle, see *ibid.*, p. 485; it is thus described in the Palace of Prester John: una quæque columpna in suo cacumine habet unum carbunculum adeo magnum, ut est magna amphora, quibus illuminatur palatium, ut mundus illuminatur a sole. Tanta est namque claritas, ut nichil tam exiguum tam subtile possit excogitari, si in pavimento esset, quin posset intueri. Also, *Roman de Thèbes*, ed. Constans, v. 634; P. Meyer, *Girart de Roussillon*, Paris, 1884, p. 25, note; Hertz, *Parzival*,[2] 526; *Bel Inconnu*, ed. Hippeau, v. 1879; the *lit merveilleux* in the *Perceval*, vv. 7666 ff.

A chascun des quepouz del lit
Ot un escharbocle fermé,
Qui gitoient molt grant clarté,
Molt plus que quatre cierge espris;

and Pannier, *Les lapidaires français*, Paris, 1882, p. 52. Finally, below, p. 16, the carbuncles at Tara. Crestien says of Fenice's beauty in *Cliges*, vv. 2749 ff.

Et la luors de sa biauté
Rant el palés plus grant clarté
Ne feïssent quatre escharboucle.

swaz er trinkens kunde nennen,
daz mohte er drinne erkennen
allez von des *grales* kraft.

The sword presentation then follows:

sîn gehilze was ein rubîn.[16]

Parzival retires, accompanied,[17] to a room, which in the morning he finds deserted. He calls but receives no answer; at the steps his horse awaits him. As he rides forth the drawbridge is raised by an unseen hand and a squire shouts a reproach after him.

Further on, § 469, Wolfram describes the grail in detail:

Si lebent von einem *steine:*
des *geslähte* ist vil *reine.*
. . . . . .
er heizet lapsit exillîs.[18]

[16] On the *rubîn* see note, above p. 9. In *Perlesvaus,* Pot. I, 75, the sword is as *clere comme une esmeraude et autresint vert,* cf. Crestien's *Yvain,* vv. 424 ff., and my note in *Modern Philology,* VII (1909), p. 149; in the hilt of the sword there is a *seintime pierre,* set by *Enax,* emperor of Rome.

[17] *Parzival,* § 243, 21:

dar nâch gienc dô zer tür dar în
vier clâre juncfrouwen;

§ 244, 5:

daz begunde ir ougen süezen,
ê si enpfiengen sîn grüezen.
ouch fuogten in gedanke nôt,
dâz im sîn munt was sô rôt, etc.

Perhaps Wolfram has in mind a frequent otherworld trait; cf. the Mabinogi *Pwyll,* Loth I, 33, where the same restraint is shown: "Lorsque le moment du sommeil fut arrivé, la reine et lui allèrent se coucher. Aussitôt qu' ils furent au lit, il lui tourna le dos et resta le visage fixé vers le bords du lit, sans lui dire un seul mot jusqu' au matin." The same theme occurs in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight,* vv. 1228 ff.

[18] A summary of the explanations offered for these words is given

Such strength does it give man

> daz im fleisch unde bein
> jugent enpfacht al sunder twâl.

Architecturally the most striking feature in the above descriptions is the fireplace [19] or fireplaces (*c*), for in Wolfram

by Martin II, 359-360. Variants of *lapsit* are *lapis* and *iaspis;* on the latter see also the *Younger Titurel,* str. 6172, and Pannier, *Lapidaires français,* Paris, 1882, pp. 39 ff.

> Ome maintient bien e conforte;
> E ki la garde *chastement*
> Mult li fist grant seürement.

Also J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval,* II, 313 ff.

[19] The passage describing the fireplace (not its location) is not entirely clear. Crestien, v. 3055, says the fire was between four columns (but perhaps the real subject is *busche;* then, however, *qui* and not *e* would be expected). In v. 3061 he continues:

> Les colomes forz i estoient
> Qui le cheminal sostenoient
> D' arain espes e haut e lé.

The last line I take to refer to *colomes.*

The word *cheminal* is not given in Baist's glossary; but Godefroy gives *chenet* as its meaning. Are we then to suppose that it was a kind of *landier,* of the primitive type mentioned by R. Meringer, *ZRP.* XXX (1906), pp. 414 ff? He says: "Er (der Feuerbock) ist ein Gerät des alten offenen Herdes und hat dort v i e r Beine. . . . . Er erscheint ausserhalb Italiens bei Romanen, Kelten und Germanen. . . . In England ist er, wie in allen Kaminländern meist dreibeinig. Er kommt aber auch vierbeinig vor, wie z. B. das riesige Exemplar in der Great Hall zu Penhurst (Kent), das Wright, A history of English culture S. 450 Fig. 290 zeigt. Dieser Feuerbock steht auch keineswegs in einem Kamine, sondern auf den Fliesen, auf einem mit Steinen umstellten Platze, *in der Mitte der Halle.* Nach seiner Grösse zu urteilen, konnte man auf ihm ein mörderisches Feuer entbrennen."

If now we turn to Wolfram we find that he says § 230, 8 ff.:

> mit marmel was gemûret
> drî vierreke fiwerrame.

there are three, in the center of the hall. The text-commentators in general have passed over the matter without remark. Schultz [20] and Heyne,[21] however, were both struck with the incongruity of this feature in a feudal castle of Crestien's or Wolfram's time. Says Schultz: "Vielleicht handelte es sich [in Wolfram] um freistehende Kamine, deren Rauchmantel von vier durch Bogen verbundene Säulchen getragen wurde. Es ist mir zwar kein derartiges Monument bekannt, aber die Beschreibung welche Chrestien de Trois von solchen Kamin entwirft, scheint unzweifelhaft in der von mir versuchten Weise zu ergänzen zu sein." Heyne, more sceptical, admits

Martin II, 213 remarks: "st. f. 'Feuerbehälter' nur hier belegt; nhd. bei Möser = Rauchfang DWb 8, 66. *rame* st. f. der hölzerne Rahmen zum Flechten, Weben und Sticken; überhaupt Gestell zum Spannen."

Ducange, s. v. *caminale* gives *chenet;* cf. Godefroy.

As for Meringer's reference to "Wright, A history of English culture S. 450 Fig. 290" (London, 1874), I have not been able to find a copy of this work. There is, however, an earlier edition (1871) of the same, entitled *Homes of Other Days*, where the fireplace at Penshurst is described (p. 450) with an accompanying cut of the firedog (fig. 290). A glance at this cut will convince anyone that Crestien could not have had a similarly constructed firedog in mind in describing his *cheminal* supported by 4 columns, *d' arain espes e haut e lé.* The exact form (and perhaps the meaning) of *cheminal* in this passage I therefore leave to others to explain.

In the meantime, we may conclude, I think, that Crestien and Wolfram referred respectively to a primitive fireplace or hearth (cf. Ward, *l. c.*, for examples) open on four sides, the smoke from which passed out of the house by an opening (later called a *louvre*) in the arched roof; granting always the possibility of Schultz's suggestion that *cheminal* in Crestien = *cheminee*, an interpretation which is, however, not supported by the other Old French examples of the word, all of which to be sure are relatively late. Cf. also Diez,[5] 788; and on *landier*, see further Viollet-le-Duc, *Dic. du Mob.* I, 145, 148; Horning, *ZRP.* XIX, 527 ff. On Penshurst, see below, note 25.

[20] *Das höfische Leben zur zeit der Minnesinger* I, 59.

[21] *Das deutsche Wohnungswesen*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 387.

frankly: "Ob aber ein dreifacher Kamin von Marmor in einem Palas der Wirklichkeit entspricht, wie ihn Wolfram v. Eschenbach beschreibt, in welchem Aloeholz brennt und vor dessen mittlerer Feuerstall der Wirt selbst auf einem Spannbett Platz nimmt, das muss dahin gestellt bleiben." The plan of the monastery of St. Gall preserved in the *Vocabularius S. Galli* of the seventh century [22] is generally cited as an example—a late one—of a hall and house constructed about a central fireplace. But as St. Gall came from Ireland and settled in the place which bears his name in 672, it is probable that the plan outlined in the *Vocabularius* represents Irish rather than continental traditions. In any case, it is conceded that long before Crestien's time, the fireplace in continental stone buildings had been moved to the outer wall, where it is regularly found in the feudal castles of the twelfth century.[23] Thus Crestien's palace scarcely had a contemporary basis of reality. In Arthurian literature the only other clear instance of a fireplace so placed that I have found is in the late (fourteenth century) *Libeaus Desconnus*.[24] There the hero discovers in the palace at Sinadoun:

[22] Heyne, *op. cit.*, 119, 387; also R. Henning, *Das Deutsche Haus* in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XLVII (1882), pp. 142 ff.

[23] Cf. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire d'architecture*, III, 195 ff., and Heyne, *op. cit.*, 387.

[24] Ed. Kaluza, *Alteng. Bibl.*, v. Libeaus rides right into the palace, as Yvain does in Crestien's *Yvain*, vv. 963 ff. (Foerster's elaborate note is unnecessary the moment we think of the Irish hall, see below). The pillars and the wall are of *jasper* and *fyn crystall*, v. 1894; the doors of *bras*, the windows of *glas*, and the hall is painted with images.

In *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ed. R. Morris,

> þer fayre fyre vpon flet fersly brenned
>
> v. 832

in the hall, presumably also in the center. Moreover, the castle appears suddenly to Gawain, on Christmas eve, on a mound. Like Wolfram's castle the drawbridge is lowered only at his bidding, and the "full noble" feast is served on tables set on trestles in

Amiddle þe halle flore
A fere stark und store
was liȝt und brende briȝt.

vv. 1867-1869.

But this example is also from an otherworld description in Arthurian literature, and interesting as it is as a piece of tradition, was hardly taken direct[25] from local conditions. Thus we are justified in looking elsewhere for the origin of this curious trait.

Now it is well known that the Irish heroic saga always places the fireplace in the center of the hall, which is generally rectangular in shape, though the earlier form was probably circular. So, Dottin says,[26] "les maisons et les

front of the *chemné, þer charcole brenned,* v. 875. Beside the host, two ladies, the one fair, the other yellow and rough, dwell in the castle, which is "huge" in height, with battlements and watch-towers. See, also, *The Turke and Gowin,* ed. Madden, vv. 198-203:

Then there stood amongst them all
a chimney in they Kings hall
with barres mickle of pride;
there was laid on in that stond
coales & wood that cost a pound
that vpon it did abide.

[25] A possibility exists, however, in the case of the *Libeaus Desconnus,* which was probably written in Kent, that its author was acquainted with Penshurst Place or Manor, now belonging to Lord De L'Isle, but once the home of the Sidneys. Penshurst lies in Kent and was presumably built about 1341. The hall is known among architects by the fact that its center is occupied by the hearth, "over which there was at an earlier period an opening in the roof, having a small ornamented turret to cover it called a smoke louvre." Cf. Elizabeth Balch, *Glimpses of Old English Homes,* London, 1890, p. 6; Thomas Wright, *l. c.;* Enlart, *Histoire de l'Art,* II, 344. A similar louvre is extant in the well-known Abbott's Kitchen, completed in 1333-1341, at Glastonbury. But this is offered only as a suggestion. Likewise, to infer that Crestien and Wolfram had in mind an actual English building (hall) seems to me unreasonable.

[26] *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique,* Paris, 1906, p. 120.

palais des Irlandais de l'épopée semblent avoir été circulaires comme les rotondes gauloises dont parle Strabon. Le feu était au milieu. Il n' y avoit qu' une porte. Les couches étaient tout à l'entour de la chambre, d' un côté de la porte à l'autre." To be sure, the primitive Germanic house was also built about the *locus foci*.[27] But there is no reason to suppose that Crestien had access here to primitive Germanic traditions inasmuch as the fireplace constitutes only one of many resemblances between the *Perceval* and the Irish texts. In the *Fled Bricrend*,[28] the main portion of which[29] "was current in Erin during the last quarter of the ninth century," Briciu's house is as follows:

"The house was made on this wise: on the plan of Tara's Mead-Hall, having nine compartments from fire to wall, each fronting thirty feet high, overlaid with gold. In the fore part of the palace a royal couch was erected for Conchobar high above those of the whole house. It was set with carbuncles and other precious stones which shone with a lustre of gold and silver, radiant with every hue, making night like unto day. Around it were placed the twelve couches of the twelve heroes of Ulster."

The Mead Hall at Tara, to which the above text refers, was also known as *Long nam Ban*, and is said to have held a thousand soldiers, "the choice part of the men of Erin."

[27] Cf. Moritz Heyne, *Ueber Lage u. Construction der Halle Heerot im angelsäch. Beowulfsliede*, Halle, 1864; G. T. Files, *Anglo-Saxon House*, Leipzig, 1893; Paul's *Grundriss*,[2] III, 433, § 18. Brown, *Harv. Studies and Notes*, VII, 197, suggests (rightly, I think) that the circular seating arrangement in the Irish house "points back to the more primitive round wattle house, being totally unlike the Germanic arrangement." See, also, above.

[28] As the most important general reference for the following pages I cite Sullivan's Introduction, ccxcvi ff. of O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, vol. I.

[29] *Fled Bricrend*, ed. J. Henderson, *Irish Texts Soc.* II, 1899, p. xliv. Cf. also R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 26-28.

Petrie [30] gives the following description of it: "In the ground-plan of *Tech Midchuarta* the house is shown as divided into five divisions, which are again subdivided into several others. Each of the two divisions extending along the side walls is shown as subdivided into twelve *imdas* [according to Thurneysen [31] = "Pritsche," *i. e.,* a couch], which here means 'seats'; each of two divisions adjoining them into eight; and the central division is represented as containing *three fires* [32] at equal distances, a vat, a chandelier, and an *erlarcaich,* besides two compartments on each side of the door and three in the other extremity of the house opposite the door, occupied by the distributors, cup-bearers, and *reachtaires.*" [33] The banqueting-house was "an oblong structure, having its lower end to the north and higher end to the south, with walls to east and west. In these walls, according to the prose accounts,[34] there were twelve or fourteen doors, six or seven

[30] *On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* XVIII, 1838, p. 197.

[31] *Op. cit.,* 26. Thurneysen remarks: "In der Mitte des Hauses ist die Feuerstelle in einem freien Raum, der höchstens noch den Platz für den Fürsten umschliesset (so in Alills Palast, Theil II). Ringsum laufen die Pritschen, wie ich das irische Wort "imda" am richtigsten wiederzugeben glaube, wenn auch bei den hier geschilderten Prachtexemplaren die der Mitte des Hauses zugewendeten Seiten nicht aus Holz, sondern aus Bronze bestehen. Auf sie werden Decken u. Polster gebreitet, u. darauf setzen sich je einer oder mehrere Festteilnehmer. Nachts oder bei Krankheit dienen die Pritschen als Betten."

[32] The italics are mine, cf. Wolfram.

[33] A house-steward, according to Sullivan, p. ccli.

[34] Cf. Keating, *History of Ireland,* 1857, p. 333; in Cormac's time Midchuarta "was three hundred feet in length, and thirty cubits in height, and, in breadth, it was fifty cubits. In it there was a flaming lamp, and it was entered by fourteen doors. It contained one hundred and fifty beds, besides Cormac's own. One hundred and fifty warriors stood in the king's presence when he sat down to the banquet. There were one hundred and fifty cup-bearers in waiting; and the hall was provided with one hundred and fifty jewelled cups of silver and gold. Fifty over one thousand was the number of the entire household." Cf. *Irish Texts Soc.,* VIII, 305.

on each side." Of interest here too is Ailill's palace, of which the *Fled* has the following account.[35]

"Thereupon the Ultonians come into the fort and the palace is left to them as recounted, viz., seven "circles" (Rundgänge waren darin) and seven compartments (Pritschen) from fire to partition (Wand), with bronze frontings and carvings of red yew. Three stripes of bronze in the arching of the house, which was of oak, with a covering of shingles (an der Stirnseite des Hauses drei Bronzesäulen. Das Haus selber von Eichenholz, etc.). It had twelve windows with glass in the openings. The daïs of Ailill and of Mève in the centre of the house, with silver frontings and stripes of bronze round it, with a silver wand by the fronting facing Ailill, that would reach the mid "tips" of the house (den Querbalken des Hauses) so as to check the inmates unceasingly. . . . . Such was the spaciousness of the house that it had room for the hosts of valiant heroes of the whole province in the suite of Conchobar."

Finally, the Royal House at Emain Macha in the *Tochmar Emere*[36] or Wooing of Emer is similarly arranged. "There

[35] Henderson, p. 69; Thurneysen, p. 43. I give Thurneysen's variants in brackets. See also the slightly varying account in Sullivan, p. dcxli, *addenda*.

[36] From the Irish MS. *Lebor na h-Uidre*, see Kuno Meyer, *Revue Celt.* XI, 446; *Zeit. f. Celt. Philologie*, III, 248. I quote from the modernized version of Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, New York, 1903, pp. 43 ff. On Welsh territory the story of *Pwyll* (see Loth I, 33) preserves essentially the Irish arrangement (as Professor Manly reminds me): "Aussitôt qu' il [Pwyll] entra dans la salle, des écuyers et de jeunes valets accoururent pour le désarmer. Chacun d' eux le saluait en arrivant. Deux chevaliers vinrent le débarrasser de son habit de chasse et le revêtir d' un habit or de *paile*. La salle fut préparée; il vit entrer la famille, la suite, la plus belle et la mieux équipée qui se fût jamais vue, et avec eux la reine, la plus belle femme du monde, vêtue d' un habit d' or de *paile* lustrée; après s' être lavés, ils se mirent à table: la reine d' un côté de Pwyll, le comte, à ce qu' il supposait, de l'autre. Ils eurent

were three times fifty rooms, and the walls were made of red yew, with copper rivets. And Conchubar's own room was on the ground, and the walls of it faced with bronze, and silver up above, with gold birds on it, and their heads set with shining carbuncles; and there were nine partitions from the fire to the wall, and thirty feet the height of each partition. And there was a silver rod before Conchubar with three golden apples on it, and when he shook the rod or struck it, all the house would be silent." [37]

Summarizing the various accounts Sullivan [38] brings out the following points:

(1) When the house was oblong, it was divided roughly into three parts by two rows of pillars which supported the roof.

(2) The fire was placed in the central division, which was the largest—about two-thirds of its whole length; the candelabrum being placed between the fire and the door, and generally toward the middle of the house. One of the essential articles of furniture in the house of a *Bó Aire* [39] (*i. e.*, a freeman who possessed cows and other chattels) was "a candle upon a candlestick." [40] In round houses the fire was near the center.

à souhait mets, boisson, musique, *compotation;* c'était bien de toutes les cours qu' il avait vues au monde, la mieux pourvue de nourriture, de boissons, de vaisselle d'or et de bijoux royaux."

[37] This is evidently the *motif* of dumbness. Cf. Nutt, *Studies*, p. 76. In the Mabinogi of *Branwen*, Loth I, 89, the warriors cast into the cauldron of renovation come forth restored except that they could not speak. So in the *Queste*, Williams ed., p. 442, the Grail strikes the beholders dumb: "every one looked at each other, and there was not one that could say a single word." Later, they recover their speech. In *Perlesvaus*, Pot. I, 87-89, Gawain falls into a revery at the appearance of the Grail, in Wauchier and the *Crône* he falls asleep. The music of the Tuatha, as Brown observes, *PMLA.* XXV, 16 note, induced to sleep.

[38] Pp. cccxlvi ff. [39] Sullivan, p. ccclliii.

[40] From the *Crith Gablach* (law-tract) II, p. 486.

(3) The narrow divisions at each side of the central hall were occupied by the *imdas,* which formed recesses between the pillars. In the circular houses the *imdas* went around the room from one side of the door to the other. Their number seems to have depended upon the rank of the owner of the house.

(4) The seat of the chief of the household was about two-thirds of the way from the door—near the hearth. In round houses it was apparently *behind* the fire and fronting the door. The queen occupied a place near the king, the champion's seat was near him also.[41]

(5) The *imdas,* used both as couches and beds, were provided with feather beds and with pillows stuffed with feathers.

(6) There were also benches of a lower order: these were doubtless occupied by the lower officers of the household. According to the plans of Tara, two rows of seats occupied the sides of the central passage in which the *candelabrum, fire* and *ale vat* were placed. One of these, thinks Sullivan,[42] corresponded "to a lower range of benches, on the level of the fire, upon which sat the *Cerds* or goldsmiths, the blacksmith, shield-maker, and other artificers of the king."

(7) There seems to have been but one door-way; at least in some of the large banqueting halls, as well as in many, if not all the round houses. In the famous Brug of Da Derga [43] there were seven doorways but only one door, which was put in the doorway at the side from which the wind blew.

In general, then, the Irish texts agree among themselves and with Crestien and Wolfram in describing a hall of large dimensions, usually rectangular, in which a great number of warriors could be seated (Crestien and Wolfram both say

[41] In the Welsh *Laws of Howel the Good,* ed. Wade-Evans, 1909, p. 148, it is said that the seat of the *edling* in the hall is opposite to the king about the fire with him (a reference I owe to Professor A. C. L. Brown). The chair in *Caer Sidi* (Skene, I, 276) will have three utterances, *around the fire,* sung before it.

[42] P. cccli.

[43] Cf. below, p. [28, note.

four hundred), in such a way that the king's place was in the centre on the main daïs [44] (*imda* or M.H.G. *pette*) in front of the fire,[45] while the rest of the company sat round about. The arrangement is essentially that described by Posidonius,[46] who states with reference to Celtic feasts: "they [the Celts] sit in a circle and the bravest sits in the middle like the leader of a chorus; because he is superior to the rest either in his military skill, or in birth, or in riches; and the man who gives the entertainment sits next to him, and then on each side the rest of the guests, according as each is eminent or distinguished for anything." [47] In addition, several details in Crestien and Wolfram are found in the Irish descriptions—such as the fact that the columns of Crestien's *cheminal* are of *airain espes a haut e lé;* that in Wolfram's palace as at Tara there are *three* fires (*c*) and a numerous company of attendants, cupbearers and the like (*f*); that the display of riches surpasses anything known to man (*e*); that the grail like the carbuncles in Briciu's house turns night into day (*e*); that the banquet is served before separate couches or *imdas* (*f*), upon which the guest (cf. Crestien) or the host (cf. Wolfram) reposes during the night, etc.

The objective, material nature of the traits compared strengthens the probability of a definite Celtic source for the Crestien-Wolfram descriptions; although a Latin intermediary in the form of Count Philip's book seems likely. Moreover, our evidence would indicate that the German poet

[44] Cf. above, p. [14, note, in *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*, vv. 832 ff.

[45] O'Curry, I, p. cccIix: in the round houses the royal seat was behind the fire fronting the door.

[46] Carl Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græcorum*, Paris, 1849, III, 260. Brown, see note below, cites the Greek text.

[47] Cf. the various recent discussions of the *Round Table:* A. C. L. Brown, *Harv. Studies and Notes*, VII, pp. 183-205; Lewis F. Mott, *PMLA.* XX, 260; J. L. Weston, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, reprint, Paris, 1910.

followed the Celtic description more faithfully than Crestien, since many of his details agree with the Celtic sources as against the French *Perceval*. The fireplaces are *three;* the tables are placed before each couch (*für werder rîter viere*) so that the general nature of the feast is preserved, while in Crestien only that part of it is mentioned which affects the hero himself; accordingly, too, Wolfram emphasizes the large number of attendants, their gorgeous apparel, etc., and takes pains to explain the miraculous origin of the abundant food and drink. So, also, the emphatic mention he makes of the chandeliers (*hundert krône*) may be significant.[48] Without entering into the moot problem of Wolfram's general relationship to Crestien, it may at least be said that for the grail episode he drew on a more specific account than that found in the published versions of Crestien's poem. To assume that his fertile imagination is responsible alone for the above details would imply that the poet had unconsciously created out of Crestien's rationalized version a more primitive Celtic description. Against this we have Wolfram's own assertion as to another more authentic story.[49] The fact that it is attributed to the fabulous Kiot need not disturb us since Wilhelm [50] has recently pointed out similar methods in late classical writers. To the mediæval mind history and fable, or let us say tradition, were one and the same thing. Thus the name Kiot could stand for the various currents of narrative, no matter what their origin was, which constituted Wolfram's literary baggage. Nor should we forget that Wolfram had not enjoyed a school education. He affirms that he could neither read nor write; "swaz an den buochen stêt geschriben," he says,[51] "des bin ich künstelos"; what he knew he had gathered by word of mouth. All the more reason, there-

[48] Compare these details with those recorded below, p. 29].

[49] *Parzival*, § 827.

[50] *Ueber fabulistische Quellenangaben* in *Beiträge* XXXIII (1908), 286 ff.

[51] *Parzival*, § 115, 27 ff.

fore, to believe that in addition to the *Perceval* he had heard another more specific account of the grail festival: "wie Herzeloyden kint den grâl erwarb." On the other hand, it can be shown, I believe, that Crestien's tendency to rationalize was due to his national, French, impulse to strengthen his plot by omitting such details as were not essential to the action and yet did not notably enhance the setting. Whatever our ultimate conclusion may be: whether Wolfram drew only on Crestien, or also on another source, be it Count Philip's book or some earlier or intermediate version—the final original of both poets for the grail episode was the same.

The question as to whether or not the ultimate source was Irish seems to depend on the correctness of the theory, advanced by Zimmer and Kuno Meyer, that a pan-Celtic epic never existed, and that such similarities as these are due to borrowing from Irish legendaries. According to our present knowledge the grail, as such, was unknown to the Irish until relatively late.[52] It would seem, moreover, that Crestien is responsible for the word *graal,* which is infrequent in the north of France.[53] Or assuming that the word occurred in the *livre* of Count Philip, Crestien translated the word *gradalis* or *gradale,* which may itself have been a more or less free rendition of a Celtic word.[54] On the other hand,

[52] Cf. F. N. Robinson, *Two Fragments of an Irish Romance of the H. Grail,* in *Zt. Celt. Ph.* IV, 381-393; W. I. Purdon, *A Note on a Passage in the Irish Version of the Grail,* in *Revue Celt.* XX (1906).

[53] Baist, *Parzival u. der Gral,* 1909, p. 13: "weil die zum Anrichten dienende flache Schüssel, die es bedeutet, auf den Haushalt der Vornehmen beschränkt war"; Martin, ed. *Parzival,* II, p. lv: "*graal* aus mlat. *gradalis* oder *gradale* heist danach französisch eine breite und tiefe Schüssel, worin Vornehmen kostbare Mahlzeiten vorgesetzt werden." Cf. Helinandus, Migne, ccxii, the text is cited in Nutt, *Studies,* p. 52, note.

[54] Sullivan, *op. cit.,* p. ccclvi, remarks: "In the houses of the higher classes *Cuachs,* or cups of bronze, silver and even of gold, were to be found displayed on the shelves on festive occasions." Among the larger vessels of yew were *Milans,* or large cups on

a definite prototype for the bleeding lance has been found by Professor Brown.[55] And as he and others have abundantly shown, Irish and Welsh literature abound in the descriptions of magic swords and caldrons, which are usually connected with a mystic being, whose most prominent form is that of Manannán,[56] of the race of the Tuatha Dé Danaan. The late Alfred Nutt was the first to see clearly the importance of this evidence for the grail problem. Following in his footsteps I have recently sought to draw closer the kinship between Manannán and the Fisher King. The resemblance between the talismans of the Tuatha Dé Danaan and those of the grail castle has been elaborated by Brown,[57] whose evidence is further strengthened by a comparison of Gerbert's account of the Siege Perilous with the LIA FÁIL or Stone of Destiny,[58] both of which announce by a cry (*brait*) the

a foot, *Cilorns,* or pitchers with handles. *Curns,* or horns of ox-horn, were much used for drinking ale—these were frequently mounted in silver and set with gems. Cf. the cup of bronze (*Cuach Créduma*) with a bird chased in white metal at its bottom, assigned to Loigaire the Triumphant in the *Fled,* ed. Henderson, § 59; also the cup of gold given Cúchulainn, § 62. The Irish for 'caldron' is *coire;* cf. *Fled,* p. 10, *coire an Daghdha,* and O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials,* 1878, p. 57, the *coirê Breacain.*

[55] See his very interesting study *The Bleeding Lance,* in *PMLA.,* XXIV (1910), 1-59.

[56] See Nutt, *Voyage of Bran,* II, *passim;* my *Fisher King* in *PMLA.,* XXIV (1909), 396 ff.

[57] *L. c.*

[58] For Gerbert, see Miss Weston, *Sir Perceval,* II, 140 (B. N. f. 12576, fos. 157-158 vo.). The *Siege* has been sent to Arthur by the FEE DE LA ROCHE MENOR, with the request that it be set on the daïs at every high feast, and the warning that only the knight who achieves the grail quest can safely occupy it. Of course Perceval seats himself in it, and at once the earth gives forth a *brait,* cleaving in all directions about the seat but leaving Perceval unharmed.

Keating, *History of Ireland,* ed. Comyn, *Irish Texts Soc.,* I, 207, relates that the LIA FÁIL "used to roar under each king of Ireland on his being chosen . . . . up to the time of Conchubhar, and it

chosen hero. As to Baist's objection that there is wanting "jeder besondere bestimmte Zug, der uns gestatten würde unsere Schüssel mit irgend einem der Wunderkessel zu identifizieren, die in der keltischen Mythologie zu finden sind, wie in jeder andern," [59] it may be said that the talismans of the Tuatha possess the two specific attributes of effulgence (*e*) and life-sustenance (*f*) which are characteristic of Crestien's grail.[60] Finally, the connection pointed out long since by Zimmer [61] between the Arthurian festivals and the Irish communal gatherings at Tara gains further support from the external resemblance between the arrangement of the Round Table, which Layamon [62] is at such pains to explain (with its 1600 knights) and the Grail Festival. In the light of all

is to that stone [*sic*] is called in Latin *Saxum fatale*." Cf. also *Prose Perceval* (Modena MS.), Weston, *op. cit.*, II, 21, "et tant tost com il fu assis li piere fendi desous lui et braist si angoisseusement que li siecles fondist en abisme," etc.

[59] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[60] Cf. Nutt, *Studies*, 184; *idem*, note in Weston's *Sir Perceval*, II, 315; Martin, *Parzival*, II, p. lvi; and especially Brown, *PMLA.* XXV (1909), 34 ff. As noticed by Ehrismann, *Märchen im höfischen Epos* in *Beiträge*, XXX (1905), 49, Wolfram's idea that the grail cannot be borne by an impure or untruthful person (*Parz.* §§ 235, 25; 809, 9; 477, 15) is characteristic of Manannân's cup in the *Echtra Carmaic;* see above, p. 17], note, Zimmer, *Haupt's Ztsch.*, XXXIII, 267; Nutt, *Studies*, 194. Perhaps the idea is reflected in Crestien's poem, v. 6387:

Tant sainte chose est li graax,

for physical welfare is dependent on moral strictures.

On the question of indebtedness Brugger's observation also is worth considering, *Z. fr. Spr.*, XXXV (1909), 55: "Der Plan, das Scenario, ist die Hauptquelle, die einzelnen Motive sind nur Nebenquellen (die übrigen Motive). Das Scenario wird wohl *nie erfunden.* Man entnimmt es entweder dem Leben oder der Geschichte oder Saga oder einer andern (fast immer einfacheren) Erzählung."

[61] *Gött. Gelehr. Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 518.

[62] Ed. Madden, II, 532.

this evidence, the practical identity of the Grail Palace with the Celtic Mead Hall shows to my mind that Manannán and the Fisher King are to all intents and purposes [originally] the same person, though the name *roi pêcheur* may be partly due to contamination with an Oriental source.[63] In

[63] The probability of some Oriental influence in the West before the Crusades must be taken into consideration (cf. Zenker, *Die Tristansage u. das persische Epos von Wîs und Ramîn* in *Rom. Forsch.*, 1910); see my remarks in *PMLA.*, XXV, 416, on the avenues of syncretism. Moreover, the title *roi pêcheur* as a synonym for Manannán is implied rather than proved by the *dominum maris* (*filium maris*) given the latter in the Yellow Bk. of Lecan and the identification of the name *Manannán* with the *Menapii* ("watermen"); see my article, p. 396, note. It is noteworthy, too, as Professor Warren has suggested to me, that Gawain never meets the grail-king fishing; so that this incident seems characteristic of the Perceval versions. A striking parallel to the king's *lameness* and the enchantment of his land, as well as a plausible explanation of the fish which he catches, is offered by the tale of the King of the Black Islands from the *Arabian Nights*—I owe to Professor Warren's kindly interest the knowledge of this fact. An outline of the story according to Chauvin, *Bibliog. des ouvrages arabes*, VI, Paris, 1902 (No. 222), p. 56, is as follows:

(1) By the aid of a genius a fisherman catches daily four fish of different colors which he takes to the king of the country. (2) After being broiled, the fish are asked by a beautiful maid whether they are true to the "agreement." They reply 'yes'; whereupon she chars them by upsetting the roaster. (3) The king then interviews the fisherman, who conducts him to a lake situated between four mountains. Although near his city, the lake had been unknown to the king. (4) After two days travelling they reach a black palace which is apparently deserted. (5) Led on, however, by the sound of groans, the king comes to a room in which a young man, in fine garments, occupies a throne. He is the king of the Black Islands, and his lower extremities have been petrified by enchantment. His subjects have been turned into fish. (6) This misfortune was brought upon him by his treacherous wife who loves a black man. (7) The visiting king succeeds in killing the latter, and compels the wife to remove her enchantments (by water). Then he kills her. (8) Ultimately the king of the Black Islands

other words, the underlying concept which in time became the Legend of the Grail was Celtic, and not primarily Eastern or Christian, whatever its later history may have been.

As to its form, we should bear in mind Kuno Meyer's remark: "dass Stoff u. Stil dieser Sagen jahrhundert lang fortgepflanzt worden, ehe sie zur Aufzeichnung gelangten, geht u. a. daraus hervor, dass sie fast durchweg in mehreren Versionen auf uns gekommen sind.[64] This multiplicity doubtless stands in close relation to the number of grail redactions that have been handed down; and versions to all outward appearances alike may well have descended from similar yet distinct originals. The cyclic redactions testify

rules over the whole land. *N. B.* It requires two incantations (p. 57) to restore (1) the lame king, (2) the land and its inhabitants.

While one might be tempted to see in the Oriental story the material of Count Philip's Book (see above, p. 3]), this possibility seems to me precluded (1) by the fact that Crestien's *scenario* is obviously Celtic; (2) that his talismans are explainable only on a Celtic basis; (3) that his fisher king like Cormac, Bran, Llew, etc., has been wounded by a lance; (4) that a fisherman of a supernatural race was known to the Celts in the Welsh form of Gwŷno Garanhir, famous both for the fish he catches and the *mwys* or basket which can supply the whole world with food (see my article, pp. 397-398); (5) that the fishing *theme* is of well-nigh universal occurrence, though especially current along the Mediterranean, and (6) that Philip's book was a story of the *graal* (*Perceval*, v. 64), to which we have no specific Oriental parallels as close as the caldron (*coire*) of Daghdha; on whom, as an agricultural god, see D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de litt. celt.*, II, 269 ff.

Thus it would seem that if an Oriental strain be present in Crestien's source at all, it is secondary; that is, due to contact of an Eastern legend with Celtic tradition (the Perceval form) at a point which we cannot now determine. Our present testimony does not seem to me to admit of any other conclusion. On the fish as a zoömorphic symbol of life, see my article, pp. 391 ff., and R. Eisler, *Orpheus and the Fisher of Men in Early Christian Art*, p. 8 of the *Quest, a quarterly*, London, 1910.

[64] *Romanische Literaturen u. Sprch.*, 1909, pp. 82-84.

to the attempt of the organizing French mind to bring a new order out of the Celtic confusion. Thus, while we cannot expect to find the particular version on which Crestien and Wolfram drew, we may at least conjecture what this version was like.

Of the various Manannán-otherworld descriptions extant the most typical, especially as to technique, is the oft-mentioned *Serglige Conculaind* or Sick Bed of Cúchulinn from the *Lebor na h-Uidre*. I hesitate to bring it forward once more. It is, however, so good an example of how the great shapeshifter wins the services of a mortal hero that it may well be taken as a partial prototype of the Perceval quest. Rhŷs [65] has already connected it with Peredur's adventure with the Empress and Owen's visit to the Lady of the Fountain, in which connection it has been elaborately treated by Brown in his *Yvain* study; and Ehrismann is inclined to see in it a source of the *Wigalois* [66] (Guigelain). Our object thus is to point out a basal type, to which the otherworld visit represented by Crestien's source roughly conformed, rather than a version with which Crestien was actually acquainted.[67] For if we eliminate for the time being the love motive from the *Serglige,* whereby Fand occupies the foreground, and assume that Manannán is the prime mover in the story [68]—

[65] *Arthurian Legend,* 300 ff.

[66] Ehrismann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Spr.,* etc., xxx, 30.

[67] Of value in this connection is also the description of Dá Derga's Hostel, edited by W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique,* xxii, pp. 9 ff. (see especially, pp. 306-307) from the *Lebor na h-Uidre* and the Yellow Book of Lecan. Here is the Luin which Brown identifies with the Bleeding Lance, *PMLA.,* xxv, 18. Dá Derga, it is said, "wore a green cloak and a shirt with a white hood and a red insertion. In his hand was a sword with a hilt of ivory, and he supplies attendance of every *imda* in the house with ale and food, and he is quick-witted in serving the whole host."

[68] As I remarked in my *Fisher King, op. cit.,* 411, "the underlying fact is the identification of Life and Fertility with the creative power of moisture." This is also fundamental in the *Yvain,* which

in whose behalf the hero has been summoned—we get a general setting which recalls in many details Perceval's visit to the grail castle.

It is Liban,[69] wife of Labraid Swift-Hand-on-Sword [cf. the host's niece *la sore pucele,* Wolfram's Repanse de Schoye (*Joie*), who presents Perceval with the sword, Crestien, v. 3107], who, assisted by Fand, acts as messenger.

Red and green prevail in their garments [see (*a*) and (*f*)].

The palace lies "over a pure lake," which they cross in a bronze boat. They reach it in the fraction of a minute [see the suddenness with which the grail castle appears in Crestien].

Labraid is called *Long-Hair,* and there is another king with him in the palace [cf. the two grail-kings [70]].

Three fifties about each of them

Fifty beds on the right side

Fifty beds on the left side

Front rails to the beds of wood,
Their posts of white gilded over.
And the light they have
Is a *precious glittering stone.*

seems to me a reidentification of local folklore with the formula of the otherworld visit, see *Modern Philology,* VII, 160-161. It is noteworthy that *Fand* = "tear-drop," and that Liban, according to Rhŷs (*Hib. Lect.,* 463), is elsewhere associated with a magic well which overwhelms her and changes her into a mermaid. The rain-storm consequent on the appearance of the grail in some of the romances (*e. g., Perlesvaus,* Pot. I, 90 ff.) and the abundance of water after the grail visit, mentioned by Wauchier, v. 20340 ff., bear on this point.

[69] I follow Brown's summary, *Iwain, a Study,* pp. 34 ff.; with occasional reference to Thurneysen's German translation, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland,* pp. 81 ff.

[70] Cf. my *Fisher-King,* p. 398; also A. Nutt, *Folklore,* XXI, 111—the Fisher-King's father is "the Mikado of the myth, the supersanct representative."

[see (*d*) and (*e*)].

There are three-score trees
Their tops barely touching.
Three hundred men are nourished by each tree,
With fruit manifold, without rind.
There is a *well* in the noble *sîd*,
With three fifties, gay mantled;
And a brooch of gold, fair in color,
In every one of the gay mantles.
There is a cask there with joyous mead,
Which is distributed to the household.
It continued ever, enduring is the custom,
So that it is always constantly full.[71]

[see (*f*)—particularly Wolfram].

There is a woman in this noble house;
She is superior to the women of Ireland;
With golden hair she comes out
In her accomplished beauty.[72]

There is a woman in this noble house; she is superior to the women of Ireland;

Her speech to the men of each king
Is beautiful, is wonderful.
[see *la sore pucele*, Repanse].

Loeg, the charioteer of Cúchulinn, says that had he not withdrawn quickly:

They had wounded me so that I had been powerless.

The woman whom I speak of there,
She robs the hosts of their wits.

[71] Thurneysen, p. 95.

"ewig bleibt es, unvergänglich
stets gefüllt bis an den Rand."

[72] Thurneysen, p. 96.

"Tritt heraus im blonden Haar,
Wonnevoll und reich begabt."

When finally Cúchulinn is separated from Fand he wanders for a long time without drink and without food among the mountains, and "'tis then that he slept every night upon the road to Midlúacra"[73] [see Perceval's wanderings, Crestien, vv. 6180, Wolfram, bk. IX,

> "S'an ai puis eü si grant duel
> Que morz eüsse esté mon vuel"
> Crestien, vv. 6343-6345].

We have now seen that in every important respect the earliest extant grail quest can be explained on a Celtic, perhaps ultimately an Irish, basis. I may, therefore, reaffirm positively what I said tentatively in my *Fisher King:* that the myth "descends in direct line from the primitive Celts." As concerns the ritualistic side of the Crestien-Wolfram account, it is clear that the action of the French version hinges on the question:[74] *Quel riche home l'an an servoit.* This question, we are told, relates especially to the Fisher King's father; *i. e.,* to the life-god himself.[75] Bearing in mind that the caldron of the Tuatha is noted for its life-giving qualities, and that the Tuatha Dé were considered the "holders and givers of life,"[76] so that they could even restore the dead to life,[77] we see that the form of the question practically explains itself.[78] Crestien may have found it, at least the hint for it, in Count Philip's book, which thus was an account of a pagan ceremonial, in its appropriate setting. This Crestien undertook to interpret in his customary scholastic manner:

[73] The mountains of Sliabh-Luachra between Limerick and Kerry in Munster.

[74] Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[75] Vv. 6380-6381 (*Qui filz est a celui*, etc.); see my *Fisher King*, p. 398.

[76] Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 195.

[77] Keating, *History of Ireland, Irish Texts Soc.*, I, 203.

[78] On the relationship of the question to the Irish *gess*, and to folklore, see Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, 50, and Hertz, *Parzival*[2], 445 ff.

as a test of chivalric fitness. As for the destructive effect of the lance, this too was indicated to him, but perhaps by a different source. In the Gawain-section [79] MS. 794 reads:

> Del sanc tot cler que ele plore
> Ert escrit que il ert ancore
> Que toz li reaumes de Logres,
> Qui jadis fu la terre as ogres,
> Ert destruite par cele lance.
>
> vv. 6129-6133.[80]

[79] See Miss Weston, *Sir Perceval*, I, 178 ff., on the Gawain tradition. Professor Warren has repeatedly called my attention to the fact, which others seem to have overlooked—including myself—that Gawain never meets a fisherman in a boat, and that, in fact, his chief concern in the story is with the bleeding lance, and not with the grail: in Wauchier, *e. g.*, the lance bleeds into a silver cup, and in the *Crône:*

> Daz sper von gotes tougen
> Wart grôzer tropfen bluotes drî
> In dem *tobliere,* der im bî
> Stuont.
>
> vv. 29418-29421.

See Brown, *PMLA.*, XXV, pp. 50 ff., on the tradition of the enchantment of Great Britain as seen in the Balin story and Gawain's visit to the Grail Castle in Wauchier's Continuation. This fits in well with my theory of a multiplicity of closely related sources, see above, p. 27], which were easily united by the French romances. Ferdinand Lot's criticism of Miss Weston (*Bibl. de l'école des Chartes,* LXX, 571 ff.), for considering other material than Crestien's portion of the *Perceval* as of first-class importance in the grail discussion, seems to me to go too far.

[80] For the second line Baist gives among the "hergestellte Lesung": *E s'est escrit qu'il iert tel ore,* which must be approximately correct. Crestien did not rime *plore* and *ancore.* Huet has discussed the readings of this passage in *Rom.* XXXVII, 301-305. In v. 6133 we should probably read *sera destruiz* for *ert destruite* of MS. 794; see Baist and Huet.

As for the rime *Logres: ogres,* it is interesting to note that Crestien used it before, in *Charrete,* vv. 3532 ff.

> An la place qui estoit plainne
> Des janz del reaume de Logres;

On the other hand, Perceval had been told that it was owing to his failure that:

> " Dames an perdront lor mariz
> Terres an seront essilliees
> E puceles desconselliees."
>
> vv. 4640-4642.

So we may conclude that the sacramental nature of the story was already a part of Crestien's source, remembering, however, that his continuators in some respects had a clearer notion of it than he, and returned to the wellsprings " of which the *livre* gave only an imperfect synopsis." I have purposely omitted from the present discussion all reference to them and to Robert de Boron, for the obvious reason that their works are later than Crestien's and were planned with reference to his—although it is equally clear that they had access to the same general body of tradition that he did. In the case of Wolfram, however, our discussion has shown that his detailed account of the *gralburg* may point to the use of Crestien's own source or one closely akin to it in material. For whether or not, as Heinzel [81] maintained, Wolfram drew on Kiot, and Kiot on Crestien's source—Wolfram's version, as we have seen, is in some respects more characteristically Celtic than that of Crestien.

> Qu'aussi con por oïr les ogres
> Vont au mostier a feste anvel.

Here, however, *ogres* = *orgues*, see Foerster, *Charrete*, p. 474; whereas above, as in the *Letre de Faramont a Meliadus*, publ. in the *Rev. d. lang. rom.* XXXV, 233, *ogres* = *paiens* ('der menschenfressende Riese').

[81] *Ueber Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival* in the *Sitzungsb.*, CXXX, 29 ff., of the Vienna Academy, 1893.

LE CONTENZ DOU MONDE BY RENAUD D'ANDON

EDITED BY

T. ATKINSON JENKINS

In the introduction to a noteworthy volume, *La Vie en France au Moyen Age, d'après quelques moralistes du temps,* 1908, Ch.-V. Langlois called attention to the poem which follows here, including it in a list of minor satirical works, then unpublished, which seemed to him to deserve the notice of the historian of French society of the thirteenth century.

As to form, the work of Renaud is in no wise remarkable: monorimed Alexandrines in quatrains is the commonest of all the stanzas used in *Dits* and *Etats du Monde* by the bourgeois poets of the epoch of St. Louis.[1]

As to style also, without admitting the entire truth of Piaget's statement: *Qui a lu deux ou trois de ces poèmes les connaît tous,* it is true that there are marked resemblances of tone and expression in the poems of this group. We read, for example, in Renaud's work:

> Joustise est esclopee et droiz vait a potences;

and, in the *Vie du Monde* of Rustebuef:

> Puis que justice cloche et droiz pent et encline.

Of the Last Judgment Renaud exclaims,

[1] Naetebus's index includes 107 poems in this form, mostly of the thirteenth century. The *Contenz dou Monde,* for some reason, was overlooked: perhaps because the copyist arranged the Alexandrines in halflines of (usually) six syllables. Godefroy, who read the poem, usually cites it in this erroneous form, and under the bizarre title, *Contempt dou Monde.*

Quant je bien m'en porpens toute la char me tremble;

similarly, with almost identical phrase, Jean de Meung, *Testament,* 1967:

Las! quant il m'en sovient trestous li cors me tremble.

As to the satirical matter, however, the invectives of Renaud d'Andon fully meet the requirements so well formulated by M. Langlois: they are "original, sincere, and founded upon direct observation"; moreover, the indignant poet has composed his censorious quatrains with considerable vigor of thought and diction. Finally, it may be stated that Renaud's work is by no means without linguistic color and interest.[2]

It is much to be regretted that the whole of the first part has been lost. We should have found there, no doubt, the needed explanation of the title, which has been gathered from the Explicit. The word *contenz* [3] is well known in the sense of 'contention,' 'dispute.' Were this noun in the plural, there would be little difficulty in translating the title; in the singular, the meaning is not altogether clear, unless, like Lat. *lis,* we may at times take *contenz* in the special sense of 'dispute at law,' and translate, "The World's Indictment," or "The World brought to Judgment."

This interpretation gains in force when we reflect that the author of this versified *procès du monde* was probably a lawyer, or a lawyer's clerk. He shows, in fact, intimate acquaintance with both lay and ecclesiastical courts (st. 3, 4), he is familiar with law terms (st. 29), quotes the exact words of the judge (st. 21), and scorns the petty barristers who can-

[2] Only one MS. of *Le Contenz dou Monde* is known, and that is incomplete: Bib. Nat., f. f. 1593, fo. 141-145 *vo.* I am indebted to M. Joseph Bédier for an excellent photograph of the text.

[3] *Contenz,* verbal substantive of *contencier,* is of course at first indeclinable. L. Constans is therefore in error (*Chrestomathie,*[3] p. 182) in deriving the secondary form *content* (cp. *esfort, romant,* etc.) from Lat. CONTENTUM.

not even translate the Latin of their legal documents (st. 11d). We notice that after an enumeration of various other kinds of sinners, he returns with predilection to the corrupt judges (st. 51 ff.). The linguistic indications favor the idea that the Andon of Renaud was Andonville in the Gâtinais, not far from Pithiviers; if this theory is correct, Renaud's poem may appear in the light of a satire on the courts of the region of Orléans, in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The work can hardly be younger than this, for Renaud does not rime IE : E as do, at times, Philippe de Rémy († 1296), Rustebuef, Guillaume Guiart, the *Roman de Fauvel,* and possibly also the authors of the *Roman de la Rose.*[4] The flexional *-s* is also practically undisturbed; most of the exceptions are to be set down to the copyist. It seems therefore too early to admit the contractions *asseurement* 3b, *deust* 11b, *meurer* 15d (in view also of *deüst* 74d, *eüst* 16c, *veöir* 23d, *jeüne* 12c), altho it is precisely to this region that Suchier ascribes the beginnings of the change to which we owe the modern French *bonheur, malheur.*[5]

That the *Contenz dou Monde* was written in the neighborhood of Orléans rather than in that of Chartres (there is a second Andonville in the Department Eure-et-Loire) is indicated by many resemblances between the language of Renaud and that of Guillaume de Lorris, Thibaut, author of the *Roman de la Poire,* and Guillaume Guiart. Like these writers, Renaud rimes EN : AN freely, while Jean le Mar-

[4] Auler, *Der Dialekt der Provinzen Orléanais u. Perche im* 13. *Jhdt.*, p. 29. The form *guieres*, not admitted by the copyist (st. 64), is nevertheless abundantly attested in *Rose* (Auler, p. 41) and elsewhere. Cp. Suchier, *Les Voyelles Toniques du Vieux Français*, p. 73; G. Paris, *Romania* xxx, p. 365, n. 4.

[5] *Die Französische u. Provenzalische Sprache u. ihre Mundarten*, 2te Aufl., p. 744. For Guillaume Guiart, born in Orléans and writing in 1306, *asseürement* is still a word of five syllables: *Branche des Royaux Lignages*, Vol. I, pp. 129, 131.

chant, who completed his collection of *Miracles de Nostre Dame de Chartres* in 1262, keeps the two classes of words strictly separate. Renaud also rimes *eslite: merite* (st. 91) while Chartres is again outside the territory which shows this development of Lat. E + I in the thirteenth century (see Suchier's Map xii).

Two peculiar rimes remain to be considered. St. 26 *demeures: jusqu'aleures: deseures: meures,* which may be compared with st. 80 *desore: devore: hore: demore.* The appearance of *alores* in this group is surprising, but cp. *mores: deslores* Poire p. 53-4; *parole: gole* Jean de Meung, *Testament* p. 100; *forre: encorre* Rose (Méon) II, 322. More to the East, the versified Vegetius also offers *hores: encores* (Wendelbron 40 a). In *alores, encores* this irregularity may be due to association with *hore(s)*, especially in phrases like *par hores, puis l'ore que,* etc.

In st. 87 occur *cort* (CURTUM) : *tort* (TORQUET) : *secort: cort* (COHORTEM). Similar irregular rimes used by Jehan le Marchant (*la mors: secors, sors: plors,* etc.) and by the author of the *Roman de Fauvel* (*la mors: amors*) have been dismissed as inexact,[6] but it is more probable that we have in *il tourt, la mours,* etc., a pronunciation current to some extent in this and the neighboring territory to the eastward: *quatourze* (Yonne), *empourte* (Côte-d'Or), etc.[7]

What we possess of the vocabulary of Renaud d'Andon shows some features of more than ordinary interest; one may mention the rare words *berole* (2a) *druges* (55b) *assiver* (10a) *desabrier* (57b), etc., some of them known only from their occurrence here. The last has been made the subject of

[6] Fölster, in *Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen* XLIII; Hess, in *Romanische Forschungen* XXVII, p. 315. Palsgrave (p. 785) records *je teurs,* but this form may represent *je tuers, il tuert* being well known (Suchier, *Voyelles toniques,* p. 31).

[7] E. Goerlich, *Der Burgundische Dialekt im xiii. u. xiv. Jahrhundert,* pp. 87-88. Cf. also *Atlas Linguistique,* Carte *le tordre* (No. 1316).

a short notice by G. Paris.[8] These and other noteworthy words and forms are collected, with a few comments, in a glossary at the end of the poem.

Le Contenz dou Monde.

1. . . . por lui achoisoner. [fo. 141, *a*, 1]

2. Li lais qui riens ne set de plet ne de berole
Tout sanz conseil d'autrui commence sa parole:
S'uns seus moz trop ou poi de la bouche li vole
Il est tout errant pris et mis en la jaiole.

3. Amender li covient ainz qu'il isse de cage,
Et baillier de l'amende, seürement ou gage.
L'en fet a la cort laie maint tort et maint outrage
Par defaut de joustise et de bon seignorage.

4. Povres hons qui est trez en cort de sainte eglise
Est ausi atachiez com chiens a terre glise;
Le petit que il a chacuns li apetise:
Ce sont genz sanz pitié et plain de covoitise.

5. [P]lain sont de covoitise avocat et notaire,
Tout avant veulent estre paiez de leur sallaire;
Quant ont tret de la gent ce qu'il en puent traire
Aucune pes honteuse li conseillent a faire.

6. Li avocat qui ont les granz chapes forrees
Manguent bones genz jusque enz es correes;
Nus n'en tret son chatel qui emprent tés denrees;
Par le païs en sont maintes lermes plorees.

[8] *Mélanges Linguistiques*, publiés par M. Roques, p. 453.

2 *c.* MS. *un seul mot.* 3 *b.* MS. *asseurement.*
6 *c.* MS. *les* corrected to *tes.*

7. Li avocat soustienent les baraz et les fuites [fo. 141,
Par que les bones genz sont mortes et destruites, *a*, 2.
S'en manguent les barz, les saumons et les truites:
De mal feu puissent il avoir les langues cuites!

8. [M]al-feu[s] arde leur langues qui huent come chate,
Car nus n'en a conseil se trop chier ne l'achate;
Des bones genz n'ont cure qui ont la borse plate,
Se n'est aucuns trichierres qui les guile et barate.

9. [L]i plus grant mestre sont de la partie au riche;
Li povres qui ou plet met quanqu'il a et fiche
Prent quelqu'avocateau qui le barate et triche,
Si font devenir large aucune[s] fois le chiche.

10. [C]il emporte l'argent et point ne li assive;
Quanqu'il vet languetant ne li vaut une cive.
Jaçoit ce que il ait bone raison et vive
Quant il cuide estre au chief si se trove a la rive.

11. Quant il cuide avoir fet s'a tout a commencier,
Car cil li desavance qui deüst avancier.
Tuit se font avocat cil ribaut bobancier,
Tex qui ne savroit mie .ii. moz enromancier.

12. [C]il qui ont en cest siecle [141,*b*,1] l'avoir et la pecune
Et qui eslievé sunt par le don de fortune,
Cil ont les bons consaus, li povres en jeüne,
Qu'il n'a dont il refraigne covoitise l'enfrune.

13. [A]vocat par nature sont aver et prenant,
Don feüssent a prendre car il sont bien prenant,
Car covoiteus de prendre ne sont pas aprenant:
Il prenent et recovrent touz jors au remanant.

10 *b.* MS. *ne li vaut pas.* *c.* MS. *quil.*
11 *b.* MS. *qui le deust.* 12 *b.* *sunt* in margin.

14. [I]l aiment plus deniers que ne fet une choe:
Qui nes paye sus l'ongle si braie[nt] come poe.
Touz jors tendent la main come singes la poe:
S'il n'est plus que paiez trop petitet s'en loe.

15. [I]l aloignent sentence et font le plet durer
Quant la partie puet les despens endurer;
Touz se gaste li povres ainz qu'il viegne a jurer;
La sentence est si dure qu'el ne puet meürer.

16. [I]l aloignent au povre sentence et jugement,
Et font le plet durer par leur conchiement.
Li povres qui n'eüst mestier d'aloignement
Ne puet sigre le plet ne soffrir longuement.

17. [P]ar force li covient, voille ou non, defaillir
Come cil qui ne puet [fo. 141, *b*, 2] ne muër ne saillir.
Li riches hons le fet d'autre part assaillir,
Semondre en plusors leus por li plus malbaillir.

18. [L]i povres hons ne puet les despens alegier,
Ne trove qui li prest ne quil voille aplegier;
Or se laist entredire, or se laist engrigier
Come cil qui ne puet amender de legier.

19. [T]out en nonchalissant se met en son afere,
Et laist toz jors ovrer la partie adversere.
Li riches tret de cort tout ce qu'il en veut trere,
Nus ne li escondit, nus ne li fait contrere.

20. [T]ant est li plez siguz et la chose menee
Que la verite[z] est changiee et bestornee,
Que vaincuz est li povres par sentence donee
Et dampne[z] des despens tout a une jornee.

15 *d.* MS. *Quele.* 19 *c.* MS. *riches hons.*

21. [L]i juges ne puet mes qui done la sentence,
Quant li droit sont escrit qui rigle[n]t la sentence;
De riens ne doit jugier dont il soit en doutance,
Mes de ce seulement dont il a conoissance.

22. [P]ovres hons qui pledoie n'a pas bien sa cort close,
Li avoirs au riche home [fo. 142, *a*, 1] li respont et oppose.
Nus conseil ne li done qu'il ne veut ne qu'il n'ose,
Si emporte li riches tout le gras de la chose.

23. [D]ex! quant vendra li juges qui toz nos jugera,
Qui set touz les secrez quanqu'en fu et sera,
Qui sanz conseil d'autrui nous examinera?
Lors porra l'en veoir qui miex alliguera.

24. [Q]ui seront ore cil qui miex allligueront?
Cil qui les bones oevres en cest siecle feront.
Por nous et contre nos noz oevres crieront:
La langue se tera, les oevres parleront.

25. [I]l n'i aura ja langue qui ost un mot tentir;
L'oevre l'acuseroit s'ele voloit mentir.
Fox est qui jusqu'alores s'atent a repentir;
Trop se puet li pechierres tarder et alentir.

26. [Es] tu quéque pechierres qui en pechié demeures,
Si te lo repentir, n'aten pas jusqu'aleures;
Se tu ne faiz tandis com tu es an deseures
Tu faudras au pardon come renart aus meures.

27. [C]i vaut la repentance qui la riens ne vaudra;
S'il ne te chaut de toi, ne sé cui en chaudra; [fo. 142,
Ja ne garderas l'eure que la mort t'asaudra *a*, 2]
Car pooir de bien faire plainement te faudra.

28. [Mo]lt fet a redouter cele pesme jornee
Ou nos serons jugié tuit a une fournee.

Ja nule creature n'en sera destornee
Qu'ele ne soit jugiee selonc sa destinee.

29. [Q]uant tuit serons venu a cel jour peremptoire
N'i aura proposé, barre ne dilactoire;
Qui avroit toute loy et decrez en memoire,
Ne li vaudroit il pas la queue d'une poire.

30. [A]vocat ne sauront aliguier ne plaidier;
S'il puent ici nuire, la ne porront aidier.
Payez sera chascuns ensemble d'ui et d'ier:
Je criem que toz li miaudres n'ait preu a Deu vidier.

31. [A] merveilles sera cil juges cler voianz,
Il conoistra chascun et verra hors et anz;
Toz li sens de cest monde [li] sera bien neanz;
Avocat crieront l'enseigne as recreanz.

32. [L]i sage de cest monde seront fol et tapé,
Li aver comperront ce qu'il ont ci happé;
Li bon morsel seront [fo. 142, *b*, 1] as gloutons eschapé,
Les sausses camelines et li poivre trapé.

33. [L]i glouton de cest monde seront mu et taisant,
Trop se font ci servir, trop se vont aesant;
Mes ne troveront la ne perdriz ne fesant,
Ne nul des bons morsiaus qu'il vont ci glotissant.

34. [B]ien avront cil gloton changié denz et gencives
Qui por une ribaude corroient bien .ii. lives;
Bien sachent il qu'a Deu [ja] n'avront pes ne trives,
Leur langues lechierresses ardront mortes et vives.

35. [H]elas, mont seront ore mort et desbareté
Une gent qui se sont por noient endeté

30 *a*. MS. *seront*.

En fesant leur ordure et leur chaitiveté:
Li deliz de la char est de molt chier chaté.

36. [Mo]lt est de chier chatel li deliz de luxure,
N'i a que vaine gloire, rien ne vaut et poi dure;
Si conchie le cors et met l'arme en ordure,
C'est viltez, vanitez, chaitivetez, ordure.

37. [U]ne autre gent i a qui sont en pechié d'ire,
Se li juges les het ce ne fet pas a dire.
Mes il voudra le grain de la paille d'elire [fo. 142, *b*, 2]
Et severra l'ordure du miel et de la cire.

38. [U]ne autre gent i a mauvese et pereceuse
Qui n'est pas de bien faire chaude ne curieuse,
Ainçois gastent leur tens et metent en oiseuse:
Contr'aus dira li juges sentence dolereuse.

39. [H]elas, puis conoistront et verront leur sotise
Cil qui sont abevré du feu de covoitise;
C'est li feus au deable qui embrase et atise
Les cuers ou ne se fiert li solaus de jostise.

40. [S]us toutes genz seront cil usurier boulé
Qui ont l'avoir aus povres sorbi et engoulé.
He Dex! mout seront ore cil vil mastin foulé
Qui ont par lor angoisse le monde triboulé.

41. [L]es bones genz qu'il ont traï vilainement,
Li barat qu'il ont fet et li conchiement,
Tesmoigneront contr'aus molt esforciement:
Contr'aus dira li juges sentence et jugement.

42. [O]rguex est encruchiez mes il descruchera,
Li orguex de ce monde humiliëz sera

42 *a*, *d* MS. *Orgoil.*

Quant li soverains juges trestouz nos jugera;
Orguex chaï du ciel, [fo. 143, *a*, 1] jamés n'i montera.

43. [A]vec les orgueilleus seront examiné
Une gent qui au siecle n'ont pas droit cheminé
Et ont autrui domage volu et destiné;
De l'espine d'envie ont leur cuers espiné.

44. [Mo]lt a qui bien porpense male chose en envie;
Envieus n'envieuse n'avront ja bone vie;
En l'anui son voisin se baigne et glorefie;
Tant vuet l'autrui domage que son preu en oublie.

45. [U]ne autre gent i a fole et desafievee
Qui ont a loy de beste nature vilenee;
Sachiez la creature qui einsi s'est menee
Assez miex li venist qu'el ne fust onques nee.

46. [Mo]lt vaut poi ceste gloire et molt est chier vendue
Quant toute leur deserte leur en est ci rendue;
Li cors se gaste et font et l'ame en est perdue
Et au gibet d'enfer encroee et pendue.

47. [Q]uant nos devant le juge serons trestuit venu,
Li plus sage du monde seront por fol tenu;
Li juges savra tout, le gros et le menu,
N'i avra riens covert, tout ert apert et nu. [fo. 143, *a*, 2]

48. [U]ne autre gent i a, qui de Deu soit maudite,
Qui deçoivent le monde: ce sont faus ypocrite
Qui ont par vaine gloire la char vaine et aflite;
Il en sont ja payez si en ont leur merite.

49. [Mo]lt fet a redouter cil juges, ce me semble,
Qui touz nos jugera, ames et cors ensemble;

45 *a*. MS. *desafienee*.

Dex set tot et voit tot, nus [hons] riens ne li emble;
Quant je bien m'en porpens toute la char me tremble.

50. Quant devant lui sera touz li mondes presenz,
Corrompuz n'iert cil juges par dons ne par presenz;
Prises seront les choses legieres et pesanz;
Estront de chien vaudront estellins et besanz.

51. [L]i juge de cest monde qui donent les sentences
Par presenz, par biaus dons, laschent leur penitances;
Leur pois n'est mie bons ne joustes leur balances;
Joustise est esclopee et droiz vet a potences.

52. [L]i juge de cest monde ont la main si enfrune
Por recevoir les dons, por prendre la pecune,
Qu'il ne voient droit fere au soleil n'a la lune;
Il nos vendent jostise qui doit estre commune.

53. [I]l tornent et bestornent [fo. 143, *b*, 1] les droiz et l'escripture
Et colourent les faus et leur donent painture;
Dex set tout et voit tout, rien ne vaut coverture;
Il voit dedenz le cors et partout trove ordure.

54. [I]l n'est riens tant soit fete en repot n'en celé
Qui ne soit a cel jour seü et revelé;
Ce que fut mal jugié sera tout rapelé;
Cil qui les autres plument seront tirepelé.

55. [N]e seront pas chaucié de la saie de Bruges
Cil gloton pautonier qui ci poient de druges.
Ou sera leur destors? Ou sera leur refuges?
Dex sera querellierres et avocat et juges.

56. En acusant dira: Bien pert que poi m'amastes,
Quant j'oi faim entre vos mangier ne me donastes;

50 *b*. MS. *presens*. 51 *d*. MS. *droit*. 54 *c*. *fut*] MS. *sera*.

J'oi mesese de soif, onques ne m'abevrastes;
Je fui nuz, sanz ostel, onques ne m'ostelastes.

57. Quant avront escouté, respondu ou nié
Qu'il onques ne le virent nu ne desabrié,
Mort de faim ne de soif ne d'ostel desbrié,
Si avez, dira Dex, l'avez vos oublié?

58. [E]n aligant voudra prover s'entencion [fo. 143, *b*, 2]
Cil sages avocaz dont je faz mension;
Por metre ses contreres a redargucion
Einsi aliguera sens et discrecion:

59. [V]ous me veïstes bien quant mes povres veïstes,
Mes d'aus qui sont mi membre garde vous ne preïstes;
Ce qu'aus membres veastes au cors escondeïstes,
Ne feïstes moi ce qu'a l'un d'eus ne feïstes.

60. [L]ors dira sa sentence qui est ferme et estable,
Et dira come juges parole esperitable:
Fuiez, li maleoit, en paine pardurable
Avesques les deables, si soiez de leur table!

61. [N']i avra qui entende a former son apiau,
Ne seront pas en vente sainture[s] ne chapiau;
Li miex vestuz n'avra que les os, que la piau;
Tex traïne escarlate cui faudront viex drapiau.

62. N'i avra chevel mort ne autre chose aposte,
L'en porra tout veoir et devant et en coste;
N'i avra nul ne nule qui ait robé son oste,
Car n'i avra ja chose celee ne reposte.

63. Ne seront pas si cointes ne si ensafrenees
Les dames qui se sont [fo. 144, *a*, 1] folement demenees.

57 *a*. MS. *Quant cil.* 59 *b*. MS. *ne vous.*

Il semble qui les voit que ce soient poupees,
Mes el[s] iront en chief toutes developees.

64. [L']en porra tout veoir et devant et darrieres,
Les dames seront nues come les chamberieres;
Tex tiennent ci por beles qui nel seront la gu[i]eres,
Car miex que les torsiaus vaudront les sarpillieres.

65. [L]es musartes achatent fardes et tanqueliques,
En ce metent .xx. souz qui ne vaut pas .ii. pipes.
Bien cuident de leur gorges que ce soient reliques,
Plus venimeuses sont que n'est .i. baseliques.

66. [D']autre part verra l'en jouer as trembleriaus
Ces ribaus de taverne, ces mauvés harmeriaus.
Touz jors n'avront il mie leur bons ne leur aviaus,
Ne se porra covrir baraz ne tremeriaus.

67. [N']i avra duc ne conte ne roy n'empereour
Qui ost les ieux lever contre son sauveour;
Lors devront avoir crieme cil ribaut licheour
Quant li saint et les saintes trembleront de paour.

68. [N']i avra ja si cointe qui ost les ieux lever,
Et por ce se doit l'en ça aval mout pener [fo. 144, *a*, 2]
De soffrir une paine por si grant eschiver;
Miex vaut que l'en se gart que l'en se laist tuer.

69. Il fet trop bon soffrir un poi de penitance
Por la paine eschiver de si pesme sentence;
Mes nos volons avoir les oués et la letance,
Nous volons ci l'enprunt, la volons l'aquitance.

70. [S]e nos enpruntons ci, ci nos covient paier,
Que la n'avons nos gage qui nos puist aplegier.

66 *d.* MS. *barat.*

Qui ci corrouce Deu ci l'estuet apaier;
Se la char est trop gaye ci l'estuet chastiër.

71. [S]e la char est trop gaye, ci la covient donter,
Car la char ne se paine que de l'ame ahonter,
Et qui lairoit la char a son voloir monter
Il faudroit a son esme quant il devroit conter.

72. [L]a char si est a l'ame quanqu'ele puet contraire:
L'ame demande sac et la char pene vere,
L'ame veut le bacin, la char vet le vin trere,
La char veut dras de lin et l'ame veut la here.

73. [L']ame crie: Je voil letues et croisson,
Et la char dit encontre: Je voil char et poisson.
L'arme dit: Fol pech[i]erre, [fo. 144, *b*, 1] va a confession
Et la char dit encontre: J'oi du mortier le son.

74. [L']ame et la char estrive[nt] en itel[e] maniere
Si tire l'une avant et l'autre [tire] arriere;
La char veut estre dame et porter la baniere
Qui par raison deüst estre sa chamberiere.

75. [S]e vous volez au siecle netement cheminer
Et de cele sentence estordre et eschiver,
Il vos covient la char batre et decepliner;
Se nos enpruntons ci, ci nos covient finer.

76. [Q]ui se sent endetez fox est s'il ne s'aquite,
Aquitons nos tandis com la mort nos respite.
La mort vient en aguet que que fox se delite,
A l'un vient en apert et a l'autre soubite.

77. [L]a mort qui vient plus tost que quarriaus ne destent
L'un tresbuche a ses piez, l'autre laist en estant;

73 *c.* MS. *va a ta c.* 75 *c.* MS. *nos.*

El[e] laist le viel home sa roigne degratant
Et prent [le] jovencel qui se cointoioit tant.

78. [T]uit somes d'un aage quant a la mort atendre,
Car li arz est tenduz et touz prez de destendre;
Nus n'a point de demain, ce doit chascuns entendre;
[fo. 144, *b*, 2]
Qu'il soit touz aprestez quant Dex le voudra prendre.

79. [S]e nous avons le tens folement despendu,
Aquitons nos a Deu qui a son arc tendu,
Et s'il avant destent que nos avrons rendu,
N'avrons de quoi finer, trop avrons atendu.

80. Aquitons nos tandis com somes au desore(s),
Ainz que la mort nos morde, qui tot mort et devore.
Fox est qui prent respit d'une toute seule hore,
Car nus tant ne se haste qu'i ne face demore.

81. Je qui hete les autres sui li mains aprestez,
Li mains aisiez d'atendre et li plus endetez;
J'ai vers Deu guerroié des biens qu'il m'a prestez.
Si ai fet de mon cors les larges foletez.

82. [S]e Dex n'en a merci, ja ne m'en verrai quite[s].
Sire Dex, qui es cors pacefiëz habites,
Tot adés te rent graces dont tu tant me respites,
Tes vertuz sont plus granz que ne sont mes merites.

83. [H]e biau douz sire Dex, par ta sainte pitié,
Des que ton plaisir est que tant m'as respitié,
Du liën me deslie ou Satan m'a gitié
Et me done conquerre [fo. 145, *a*, 1] ta tres douce amistié.

84. [J]e sui com li oyseaus qui au laz bret et crie,
Qui ne s'en puet oster se on ne li aïe.

80 *b*. MS. *nos mort*.

Biau douz Dex debonaires, fei tost si m'en deslie,
Je ne m'en puis aidier si voi bien ma folie.

85. [J]e sui miex comparez que chose que je sache
A l'oysel qui au laz se debat et desache:
Fere cuide son preu mes il fet son domache,
Car li laz plus estraint que il plus tire et sache.

86. [J]e ne sui pas cheüz en .i. laz seulement,
Ainz me sui embatuz en plusors folement,
Car l'arz estoit tenduz par grant detenement;
Dex m'en git, si li plest, cui j'en pri doucement.

87. [Q]uant li un[s] de ces laz qui si me tienent cort
Me lasche tant ne quant, li autres serre et tort;
Morz sui s'a cest besoing ne m'aïde et secort
Nostre dame des anges qui mout bien est de cort.

88. [H]e douce mere Deu, glorieuse Marie,
Fontaine de pitié, qui ja jour n'ert tarie,
Aide moi, se te plaist, j'ai mestier de t'aïe,
A ton filz me racorde, a ton filz me ralie. [fo. 145, *a*, 2]

89. [D]ouce dame piteuse, en cui mout je m'afi,
Bien me poëz aidier, car je le sai de fi;
Depriëz vostre pere, commandez vostre fi
Qu'i me face habitant de son bon edefi.

90. [D]ame en cui maint pitiez et deboneretez,
Priëz vostre chier filz por touz les endetez;
Dame, nos vos disons toutes noz privetez,
Nus n'i metra conseil se vous ne le metez.

91. [D]ame plaine de grace, desus toutes eslite,
Dex en vos regarder se soulace et delite.

84 *d.* MS. *pus.* 86 *d.* MS. *gite.* 87 *d.* MS. *La dame.*

Grant fiance avons tuit, dame, en vostre merite,
Si venons tuit a toi ausi com a garite.

92. [D]ame, je vieng a vos, pech[i]erres et coupable[s],
Que vos me soiez murs et chastiaus desfensable[s]
Encontre l'anemi qui tant est decevable[s];
J'en serai vostre hons liges et vostre redevable[s].

93. [D]ame de paradis en cui touz biens abonde,
Qui n'estes, douce dame, premiere ne seconde,
Deprie ton chier filz, le roi de tout le monde,
Que de touz noz pechiez nos face pur(s) et monde.

94. Renaut d'Andon qui parle [fo. 145, *b*, 1] n'en veut ore plus dire,
Mes chacuns et chacune qui ces vers orra dire
Deprist le haut seignor qui governe l'empire
Qu'en ceste mortel vie nos doint s'amor eslire.
Explicit le contenz dou monde.

Glossary.

abevrer 39, 56.
achoisoner 1d.
acuser 25, 56.
adversere adj. 19.
s'aesier 33.
(aflire) aflit 48.
aguet, en —, 76.
ahonter 71.
aidier 84d Ind. Ps. 3 aïe 84b, aïde 87c; aide moi 88c.
aisié de 81b.
alentir 25.
alliguer 23, 24.
aloignement 16.
aloignier 15.
alores 25, 26.
amende 3. Herzog, *Streitfragen,* Vol. I, p. 98, *n.* would derive this word from Lat. *emenda,* from *emere.*
amender 3, 18.
apaier 70.
apetisier 4. More commonly *apeticier,* as G. Guiart, I, p. 169: *apetice: faitice;* but

91 *d.* toi] *read* vos? Cp. 93 *c.*

cp. *apetise: ise* Audefroi le Bastart, ed. Brakelmann, p. 108; *: brise, Rom.* XIV, p. 474.

apiau 61.

aplegier 18, 70.

(apondre) ptcp. apost 62.

aquitance 69.

(asseurement) 3b.

assiver 10a. 'share equally,' 'share.' Cp. Godefroy *essever* 2, and the variant *assever* for *essever* 1. The etymon is EXAEQUARE (A. Thomas, *Mélanges d'Etymologie française*, 1902, p. 72) whence *essiuer*, as *iuer, iwer*, AEQUARE, *iuel, iwel* AEQUALEM. *desiuer* *DISAEQUARE is also known (Brand, *Studien zur Geschichte v. inlaut.* QU *in Nordfrankreich*, 1897, p. 35), also *desaïver* *DISADAEQUARE(?) G. Guiart I, 144: *granz fossez La faiz ou le plain desayve, A cisel, en roche nayve.*

Str. 34 *lives, trives* (*: vives*) show the same change of IU to IV, a change widespread in the second half of the thirteenth century (Rustebuef, Rose, G. Guiart, Angier) but not in the north (Ph. de Beaumanoir) nor in the east (Poème moral).

atisier 39.

avel, *pl.* aviaus 66.

avocateau 9.

Barat 7.

barater 8.

barre 29b.

baselique 65.

barz (pl.) 'bass' 7c. The correct form (in the plural) is rather *bars;* cp. the rime in Helinand's *Vers de la Mort* XLVII, 5, and, for the etymology, *Revue des Lang. rom.* XLVIII, p. 193.

berole 2a. Apparently the same word as *berele,* 'agitation,' 'dispute,' which is used by G. Guiart (I, p. 298) and by Rustebuef, *Vie Ste. Marie l'Egiptienne* 325: *sanz vos sui en fort berele, Sanz vos ai perdu ma querele.* Cp. the doublet *rossignol-rossignel* in Rose (Auler, *op. cit.*, p. 81).

besant 50.

bestorner 53, 20.

bobancier 'arrogant' 11.

bouler 40a (DHT xiv century) 'roll,' here apparently 'deceive,' as in G. Guiart I, p. 133: *Bien a leur gent esté boulée.* Cp. *bole* 'deceit.'

(Camelin) sausses camelines 32d.
celé, en —, 54a.
chamberiere 64.
chapiau 61.
chatel, chaté 6c, 35d. Chaté, re-made from the nom. *chatés*, is used also by Rustebuef (*: presté De la Povreté* R., 7-8) and by Jean de Meung (ed. Michel II, p. 358). Ebeling seems to me over-cautious in not admitting the rime *costé: osté(l)*, Auberee 207. See his remark, p. 50.
chief, aler en —, 63d; estre au —, 10d.
choe 14a.
clervoiant 31a.
cointe 63, 68.
se cointoier 77d.
colourer 53b 'palliate' 'excuse.' Cp. *coloration* in this sense, used by G. Chastellain (DHT).
comparer 85a.
comperer 32b.
conchiement 16b, 41b.
conchier 36c.
conseil, *pl.* consaus 8, 12.
contraire 'injury' 19d, 58c; adj. 72a.
cort, estre bien de —, 87d; clorre bien sa —, 22a 'make oneself safe,' 'take good care of oneself.' Cf. Li Proverbe au Vilain, No. 191: *Bien a sa court close, cui si voisin aiment.*
correes (*pl.*) 6b.
crieme, avoir —, 67c.
croisson 'water-cress,' 73a.

Darrieres 64a.
debonereté 90a.
decepliner 75c.
decret 29c.
degrater 'scratch' 77c; cp. G. Guiart II, p. 20, where the word seems to be used with comic intent.
deprïer 93c; Ps. Sbj. 3 deprist (= deprit) 94c.
desabrié 57b. Cp. G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 453.
desachier 85b.
desafiever 45a. Wanting in Godefroy; cp. prov. *afevar* 'inféoder' and O. Fr. *desfievé* 'dépossédé.'
desavancier 11b.
desbareté 'discomfited,' 'destroyed,' 35a.
desbrié(?) 57c. Cp. G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 453. The occurrence of *desbrié* just underneath *desabrié* (57b) seems to me suspicious, especially as a verb **desbrier* or **brier* is otherwise quite unknown.

Possibly the correct reading is *desprié,* 'déprié' 'désinvité,' and the meaning 'refused shelter,' answering to 56d: *Je fui nuz, sans ostel, onques ne m'ostelastes.*

In O. Fr. the commoner expressions with *ostel* are: *querre ostel, tenir ostel, prendre ostel, avoir ostel, prester ostel;* the shift from the literal meaning 'lodging' to the fig. use 'shelter' 'hospitality' appears in *avoir ostel en maison,* Partonopeus 7855, *mercier qqn de son ostel, avoir chier l'ostel de qqn,* Crestien de Troyes, Charete 960-1. Parallel to *prendre ostel* we have *prendre herbergement* (Marie de France, Chievrefeuil 34); like *avoir ostel* is *avoir herberjage* (Béroul, Tristran 1360). So Jean le Marchant, p. 135: *Li clers ala ostel querant . . . Demanda por Deu herbergage.*

With *prier* we find *Si li* (var. *le*) *prie de herbergier* Charete 2036, *Vos vuel proiier del remenoir* ibid. 142 (so Erec 6505, cp. 4062, 4623), *de boivre ne de mengier Ne la covient ja mes proiier* ibid. 4191. From infinitive-substantive ('ask to') we pass to substantives ('ask for'): *prier qqn de joie,* Maetzner, *Lieder* x, 30; *prier qqn de pitié* ibid. xxvii, 14; *de conseil* ibid. xlii, 47; *de mestier* Bartsch, *Romanzen u. Pastourellen* ii, 75, 21, while *prier qqn d'amor* (cp. Ebeling, *Auberee,* p. 62) has remained into the modern language. There seems therefore no reason to doubt the legitimacy of the expression *prier qqn d'ostel,* or *d'ostelage.*

Of *déprier,* DHT found no instance recorded older than the xvith century (R. Estienne), but it is well known that both the older and the modern language create with extreme readiness these compounds with *des-, dé-* (cp. Godefroy s. v. *des-,* and Nyrop, *Gram. hist.* iii, p. 213: On forme de ces verbes tous les jours). G. Guiart, for example, uses *desrenter* (i, 29), *desconter* (i, 44), *desterrer* (i, 61), *descheviller*

(I, 142), etc.; Jean le Marchant creates equally unstable compounds: *desenfler,* p. 130, *desestre,* p. 174, *desardoir,* p. 169, etc.

descruchier 42a (cp. *encruchier,* ibid.) The word means 'fall from a height' or transitively 'throw down.' Cp. G. de Degulleville: *Ainsi comme le vent trebuche Le fruit des arbres et descruche* (Godefroy s. v. *descrochier*); Gilles li Muisis I, p. 102: *S'en voit on aucuns* [the rich] *descrukier, De si haut en bas trebukier;* G. Guiart I, p. 303: *Quant Tyois qui entour conversent Voient le dragon tresbuchier Et l'aigle doré descruchier, Li plus hardis . . . . en fuie torne;* Ambroise, *Hist. de la Guerre Sainte,* 10071. A variant appears to be *descrunkier* (Godef. s. v.).

Contrariwise, *encruchier* (wanting in Godefroy) appears to mean 'place on high' 'lodge.' I have found but two other instances of this verb. Jean le Marchant, p. 93: *Car sus un de ses piez cheï Tout dou tranchant une coigniee Qui ert sus le char encruchiee;* G. Guiart I, p. 189: *Tant de grosses pierres i gastent, Et si souvent là les entruchent* (l. *encruchent*) *C'une grant partie en* [du mur] *trebuchent.* We may have to do here with the word **krouka* assumed by Schuchardt, *ZfRP.* XXVI, p. 316, meaning 'heap' 'pile' and of Celtic origin; cp. 'pile on' and 'pile off' in English (colloquial).

deserte 46b.

deseures, estre en —, 26c.

desfensable 92b.

destendre 77a.

destinee 28d.

destiner 43c.

destor 55c.

detenement 86c.

developer 63d.

dilactoire 29b.

discrecion 58d.

drapiau 61d.

druges, de —, 55b. For the etymon, cp. Schlutter, *ALL.* XIII, p. 287 (Herzog, *ZfRP.* XXVIII, p. 627). *Druge* = 'surabondance' (Scheler) fits very well here, also to the passage *Les deus Troveörs Ribauz*

12: *Certes ce n'est mie de druges Que tu es si chaitis et las,* where Bartsch-Horning translate 'moquerie, plaisanterie.' We may add G. Guiart I, p. 247: (*li rois*) *Son courroux ne tint pas a druges,* 'the king held not his anger to be excessive (superfluous, idle).' Cp. *drugier* 'pousser abondamment.'

Edefi 89d.
s'embatre 86b.
emprendre 6c.
encroer 46d.
encruchier 42a; cp. *descruchier,* note.
s'endeter 35b.
enfrun 12d, 52a.
engouler 40b.
engrigier 18c.
enromancier 11d.
ensafrené 63a.
entredire 18c.
errant 2d.
escarlate 61d.
eschiver 68c, 69b.
escloper 51d.
escondire 59c.
esforciement 41c.
esliever 12b.
esme 71d.
espiner 43d.
estable 60a.
estellin 50d.
estordre 75b.
estovoir 70c.
estre Imp. Sbj. 6 feüssent 13b.
estriver 74a.
estront 5d.
examiner 43a, 23c.

Fardes (*pl.*) 65a.
se ferir 39d.
fesant 33c.
fiance 91c.
fi, savoir de —, 89b.
fichier 9b.
finer 75d, 79d.
foleté 81d.
forré 6a.
fouler 40c.
fournee 28b.
fuite 7a 'trick,' 'evasion.'

Garder, ne — l'eure 27c.
garite, venir a —, 91d.
se gaster 15c.
gencive 34a.
gibet 46d.
gitier 83c, Ps. Sbj. 3 git 86d (MS. *gite,* with one syllable too many. Cp. *giet* Péan Gatineau 985, 1562.)
glise, terre —, 4b.
se glorefiër 44c.

glotir 33d.
(guieres) 64c.
guiler 8d.

Habitant 89d.
happer 32b.
harmerel 66b. Godefroy has but one example of this word *s. v. hermerel;* he conjectures 'sorte de valet'(?)
here 72d.
hetier 81a.
huër 8a.
humiliër 42b.

Jaçoit ce que 10c.
jaiole 2d.

Laissier Ps. Ind. 3 laist 18c (= lait); Ps. Sbj. 3 laist 68d; cond. 3 lairoit 71c.
langueter 10b.
large 'extreme' 81d.
lechieresse 34d.
letance, vouloir avoir les oués et la —, 69c 'want to have both the eggs (of the female fish) and the sperm' (of the male); hence 'want more than is possible.'
letue 73a.
licheor 67c.
live 34c 'league.' Cp. *assiver,* note.

Membre 59b.
mension, faire —, 58b.
messe 56c.
meure, more 26d.
meürer 15d.
morsel 32c.
mortier, oïr le son du —, 73d. The expression means, 'to hear sounds suggesting preparations for a luxurious meal,' spices being formerly ground fresh daily. So Rustebuef, *La Voie de Paradis,* 401 ff.:
Glotonie . . . .
Refet sovent le mortier bruire
Enchiez Hasart le tavernier . . . .
Ne quiert oïr que bole et feste . . . .
Qui est ses keus a assez paine . . . .
Jubinal's translation, *mortier = carnet de dés,* is incorrect.
muër 17b.
musart 65a.

Netement 75a.
(nonchaloir) ptcp. pr. nonchalissant 19a. A parallel to the more common O. Fr. *vaillissant,* and to be explained in the same way; cp. Risop, *Studien zur Ge-*

schichte der frz. Conjugation auf -ir, p. 81.

Oiseuse, metre en —, 38c.
ongle, payer sus l' —, 14b.
opposer 22b.
osteler 56d.

Pacefiër 82b.
painture, doner —, 53b.
pardurable 60c.
pautonier 55b.
pecune 12a, 52b.
pene vere 72b.
perdriz 33c.
pereceus 38a.
peremptoire 29a.
pesme 69b, 28a.
petitet, trop —, 14c.
potences (*pl.*) 51d.
poupee 63c.
priveté 90c.
plumer 'plunder' 54d.
poe (f. of *paon*) 14b.
poe 'paw' 14c.
poi 'too few' 2c.
poier 'grow in fortune,' 'flourish' 55b.
poivre trapé 32d. One of the many *espiceries* popular in medieval cookery, *poivre* (*pl.*) indicating the various kinds of pepper (and perhaps other spices) used in making sauces, preserves and drinks. I find mention of *poivre chaut, p. aigre, p. aigret, p. long,* etc. These when ground in a mortar (cp. 73d, *oïr le son du mortier*) and mixed with wine, vinegar, etc., gave the chief flavor to the preparation. *Poivre* seems to have been used also in the sense of 'powdered spice' in general; the collection of cooking receipts (c. 1300) published by Douët d'Arcq (*Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes* 5, 1 (1860), p. 207 ff.) mentions *poivre aigre, fet de gingenbre et de canele.* Similarly, pepper is not specifically mentioned in the confection of the *peverada* described in the *Libro della Cocina* (early XIVth century, ed. Zambrini, 1863, Scelta XL). This sauce consisted of toast, saffran, *spices,* wine or vinegar, etc.

On the principle *pars pro toto* it is likely that *poivre* was also used in the sense of '*vin d'espicerie,*' in *Roman de la Rose* (ed. Michel) I, p. 362:

Dames lor braceront tel
poivre . . . .

where the figurative interpretation need not affect the argument (cp. *bracier levain* 'foment rebellion,' E. Deschamps I, p. 286). Similarly, in later times, *piment* means both 'spiced wine' and 'pepper' (capsicum, or red pepper).

It is more difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of *trapé,* a form supported here by the rich (over-rich) rime. Three alternatives suggest themselves:

(1) *trape* 'instrument de cuisine' is more specifically defined by Cotgrave: *trape de feu,* 'a fire-panne, or panne for coles,' which suggests the preparations called *brasés* (see the collection of receipts published by Paul Meyer, *Bull. Soc. d. Anc. Textes Frç.,* 1893, p. 55, n.);

(2) *trape* = '*eau-de-vie*' is instanced by Vidossich (*ZfRP.* xxx (1906) p. 202) who associates the word with OHG. **trab* (inferred sg. of *Treber*) and with Romance *grapa;* hence *trapé* = 'brandied'?

(3) *trape* = 'macre' 'water-chestnut,' fruit of *Trapa natans* (Rolland, *Flore populaire* VI, p. 6), the flour of which, it is stated, has been much used in the West of France as "thickening" to various *bouillies,* no doubt also as dressing to spiced preparations. Cp. the preserve called *Pyneiee* (P. Meyer, No. 21): *Vyn, sucre, boillez ensemble, gingebras e meel . . . . e serra adressé en cofinz de flor de chasteynz.*

porpenser 49d, 44a.

proposé 29b (Godefroy, XVIth century).

Quanque 10b 'however much.' Cp. Tobler's *Beiträge* III, p. 10.

quarrel 77a.

querelleour 55d.

Racorder 88d.

raliër 88d.

recreant 31d.

redargucion, metre a —, 58c.

redevable 92d.

remanant 13d.

(repondre) ptcp. repost 62d, 54a.

respit, prendre —, 80c.

respitier 83b, 76b.

reveler 54b.
rigler 21b.
rive, se trover a la —, 10d. 'be left behind.'
roigne 77c.

Sac 'sack-cloth' 72c.
saie de Bruges 55a.
sallaire 5b.
sarpilliere 64d.
seignorage 3d.
semondre 17d.
(sevrer) fut. severra 37d.
sigre 16d; ptcp. sigu 20a.
sorbir 40b.
se soulacier 91b.

Tanqueliques (*pl.*) 65a. A word unknown elsewhere in this form; perhaps a variant of *triquenique* 'bagatelle' 'knick-nack' of which Sainéan speaks *ZfRP* xxx (1907), p. 272. *Tanquelique* also suggests *quiquelique,* equally obscure as to meaning: the clerks of Orleans

claiment la Dyaletique
Par mal despit [la] Quiquelique.

Bataille des .VII. Arts, 15-16. It seems likely that we have here a bit of students' Latin slang, **quisquilica,* made from Lat. *quisquilia,* 'rubbish' 'fatras,' on the model of *rhetorica,* etc.
taper 32a.
tentir 25a.
tirepeler 'tirailler' 54d. Godefroy cites two passages containing this word from the *Ovide moralisé.*
torsel 64d.
(traper?) trapé 32d, see *poivre,* note.
(tremblerel) jouer as tremblerians 66a = 'trembler,' with pun on the expression *jouer au tremerel.*
tremerel 'cheating at dice' 66d.
tribouler 40d.
trives (*pl.*) 34c. Cp. *assiver,* note.

Ui, d' —, et d'ier 30c.

Veer 59c.
venimeus 65d.
vidier 30d.
viex 61d.
vilener 45b.
vilté 36d.

LA LÉGENDE DES "ENFANCES" DE CHARLEMAGNE ET L'HISTOIRE DE CHARLES MARTEL

PAR

JOSEPH BÉDIER

I.

Ce qu'on appelle l'épopée française, ou—d'un nom plus familier aux hommes du moyen âge—les chansons de geste, ce sont soixante-dix ou quatre-vingts romans, tous du XIIe ou du XIIIe siècle. Ils sont pour la plupart des romans historiques, car ils mettent en scène des personnages qui vécurent réellement, du Ve au Xe siècle, Clovis ou Charles le Chauve, Girard ou Charlemagne, Roland ou Raoul de Cambrai. Pourquoi des poètes du XIIe siècle ont-ils pris pour héros de leurs romans des hommes morts depuis tant de siècles? En cette question tient tout le problème de l'origine des chansons de geste. On y peut faire deux réponses, et deux seulement:

Ou bien les poètes du XIIe siècle se sont intéressés à ces personnages du temps jadis parce que d'autres poètes l'avaient fait avant eux, ou d'autres conteurs, dont les plus anciens avaient été des contemporains soit de Raoul de Cambrai, soit de Charlemagne, soit de Clovis, et les romans du XIIe siècle sont alors des renouvellements de ces antiques récits ou poèmes.

Ou bien les poètes du XIIe siècle se sont intéressés à ces personnages parce qu'ils avaient des raisons à eux, vivantes de leur temps, de s'y intéresser: en ce cas, les romans du XIIe siècle sont des romans du XIIe siècle, et il faut les interpréter comme tels: en interrogeant, non pas les livres

du VIIe siècle ou du Xe, mais la vie du XIIe, et, pour les plus anciens de ces romans, la vie de l'époque immédiatement antérieure, le XIe siècle.

De là deux théories qui s'opposent toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'expliquer l' " élément historique " d'une chanson de geste. Nous étudierons ici une légende où le conflit se montre en toute son acuité.

* * *

En 1842, Paulin Paris avait cru remarquer, entre les chroniques qui retracent les débuts de Charles Martel et des romans qui retracent les fabuleuses " enfances " de Charlemagne, certaines analogies. Elles étaient vagues.[1] En 1865, Gaston Paris les précisa,[2] et c'est ici l'une de ses jolies découvertes, de celles qui semblent menues et qui ne le sont pas:

Dans trois romans du XIIe ou du XIIIe siècle, *Berte aux grands pieds, Mainet, Basin,* on lit que Charles (Charlemagne), fils de Pépin (Pépin III, le Bref), eut comme adversaires en sa jeunesse deux personnages nommés l'un Rainfroi et l'autre Heldri.—Dans les annales et chroniques des années 716 à 719, on lit que Charles (Charles Martel), fils de Pépin (Pépin II), eut comme adversaires en sa jeunesse deux personnages nommés l'un *Raginfredus* et l'autre *Chilpericus.*

Raginfredus donne régulièrement en français Rainfroi; *Chilpericus,* non moins régulièrement, Helpri. Il peut arriver à chacun [3] de dire ou d'écrire Childéric pour Chilpéric, Heldri pour Helpri.

[1] Ayant résumé les récits légendaires selon lesquels Charlemagne enfant aurait été persécuté par une marâtre, puis par les fils de celle-ci, Paulin Paris ajoute: " Il se peut que dans ces traditions tout ne soit pas controuvé et imaginaire. Pépin d'Héristal avait eu deux femmes, l'une desquelles, Alpaïs, fut seulement une concubine; et Charles Martel, fils d'Alpaïs, eut longtemps à lutter contre sa marâtre Plectrude et contre les enfants de cette marâtre." (*Histoire littéraire de la France,* t. XX, 1842, p. 703.)

[2] Dans son *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne,* p. 438-442.

[3] G. Paris (*l. l.*) a noté deux exemples de cette méprise: dans les *Miracula sanctae Glodesindis,* ouvrage composé à Gorze dans la seconde moitié du Xe siècle (Pertz, *SS.*, t. IV, p. 237, ligne 23), on

Si l'on accorde, et qui voudrait s'y refuser? que nous sommes ici en présence de cet accident, la concordance est parfaite, l'identification s'impose, et M. Pio Rajna l'a constaté en ces termes pleins de justesse: "La critique a le devoir d'être prudente et de ne pas confondre les hypothèses avec les vérités de fait; mais il faudrait renoncer à tout espoir d'atteindre jamais le vrai par d'autres voies que celles de la simple déduction ou de l'aperception directe, si cette fois on ne concluait pas que Rainfroi et Heudri sont indubitablement le Raginfred et le Chilpéric de l'histoire." [4]

Avec la même justesse, M. Rajna a insisté [5] sur le fait qu' *Heldri, Heudri* est un mot de bonne formation populaire. [6]

Au temps où furent écrits nos trois romans, le nom de Chilpéric était devenu rare: aussi, quand les clercs rencontraient *Chilpericus* dans un vieux livre latin, ils le rendaient en français comme ils pouvaient, par quelque

lit *Childericus* pour *Chilpericus;* et "dans le très vieux poème sur saint Léger, Childéric II est appelé *Chielperig.*" J'ai rencontré à mon tour ce troisième exemple: la *Vita Nivardi,* texte du IXe siècle (*Monumenta Germ. historica, Scriptores rerum merovingicarum,* t. v) donne une fois (p. 168, ligne 3) *Chilpericus* pour *Childericus.*

[4] Pio Rajna, *Le origini dell' epopea francese* (1884), p. 213.

[5] *Ibidem,* p. 211.

[6] Il en est de même de *Rainfroi;* mais, pour *Rainfroi,* le fait n'a pas d'intérêt. C'était un nom encore très porté au XIIe siècle. Un poète du XIIe siècle, qui aurait lu dans un livre latin *Raginfredus,* l'aurait presque nécessairement transcrit *Rainfroi.* Pour employer une forme savante telle que *Raganfroi,* qui se lit dans les *Chroniques de Saint-Denis* (voyez Rajna, *ouvr. cité,* p. 211), et qui ne se lit guère que là, il faut presque faire exprès. Aussi Philippe Mousket traduit-il régulièrement par *Rainfroi* (v. 1725, etc.) le *Raginfredus* de sa source. On trouve dans l'*Historia regum Francorum monasterii s. Dionysii* (Pertz, *SS.,* t. IX, p. 399) *Rainfredus* (ligne 15) auprès de *Ragenfredus* (l. 11); *Raenfredus* et *Rainfridus* chez Adémar (*SS.,* t. IV, p. 114); chez Hugues de Flavigny (*SS.,* t. VIII), *Rainfredus* (p. 339, l. 41) ou *Raimfredus* (p. 342, l. 10); *Rainfredus* dans les *Miracula s. Veroni* (*SS.,* t. XV, p. 750, l. 50) et dans l'*Historia Fossatensis* (*SS.,* t. IX, p. 372, l. 41); etc.

forme savante et gauche, *Chilperic,*[7] ou *Chielperig,*[8] ou *Ciperis.*[9] Puisque nos romanciers, eux, disent *Heldri,* c'est donc qu'ils n'avaient pas sous les yeux un livre latin qui leur donnât *Chilpericus;* tout se passe chez eux comme si le nom n'avait cessé depuis les temps mérovingiens d'évoluer normalement et comme s'ils l'avaient trouvé vivant dans la tradition.

Peut-être aurons-nous à limiter plus loin la portée de cette remarque. Quoi qu'il en soit, le fait principal est certain, et nous devons l'accepter une fois pour toutes, sans restriction : le Rainfroi et l'Heldri de la légende sont bien le Raginfred et le Chilpéric de l'histoire.

Ce fait, comment l'interpréter? Selon G. Paris (c'est le premier des deux principes d'explication possibles), ces fables des chansons de geste procèdent d'une très lointaine tradition populaire. Après lui, des auteurs nombreux ont adopté cette opinion : le cas de Raginfred, adversaire de Charles Martel, transformé par la légende en Rainfroi, adversaire de Charlemagne, leur semble offrir l'une des preuves les plus fortes de l'ancienneté des chansons de geste.[10] Dès le VIIIe ou le IXe siècle, des récits ou des chants auront célébré Charles Martel et ses luttes contre Raginfred et Chilpéric; transmis d'âge en âge, ils se seront un jour fondus avec d'autres chants ou récits, dont Charlemagne était le héros; on attribua au petit-fils, plus glorieux, les aventures de son aïeul; c'est un "transfert épique"; c'est même l'exemple-type du transfert épique, celui que les auteurs allèguent le plus volontiers. Quand les poètes du XIIe et du XIIIe siècles rimaient les romans de *Berte, de Mainet, de Basin,* ils renouvelaient, sans

[7] *Chilperic* dans les *Chroniques de Saint-Denis,* chez Philippe Mousket, etc.

[8] *Chielperig* dans le *Saint-Léger.*

[9] Un roman du XVe siècle est intitulé *Ciperis de Vignevaux.*

[10] Arsène Darmesteter, entre autres, le dit dans un article de la *Revue critique* de 1884, reproduit dans ses *Reliques scientifiques,* t. II (1890), p. 50.

en soupçonner eux-mêmes l'ancienneté, des poèmes plus vieux de quatre ou cinq cents ans.

Cette théorie est séduisante. Est-elle vraie? et ne peut-on pas, ici comme en tant de cas analogues, recourir à l'autre principe d'explication?

* * *

Avant d'entrer dans cette recherche, nous voudrions dire quelques mots touchant la méthode.

Pour traiter le cas d'Heldri et Rainfroi, est-il indispensable de discuter d'abord la théorie de G. Paris? Ne suffirait-il pas, voulant proposer une autre solution que la sienne, de la proposer dès maintenant? Si elle est juste, elle s'imposera d'elle-même. Hélas! il n'en va pas ainsi. L'explication que nous tenons en réserve ne saurait, nous l'avouons d'avance, s'imposer d'elle-même; par elle-même, en mettant les choses au mieux, elle n'est que vraisemblable. L'autre, celle de G. Paris, est vraisemblable elle aussi, à tel point que notre seule intention de la contredire doit surprendre par sa témérité. Elles peuvent être l'une et l'autre vraisemblables, et pourtant, l'une disant: "Ces romans du XIIe siècle procèdent de très anciens modèles perdus," l'autre disant: "Ces romans du XIIe siècle sont des romans du XIIe siècle," elles sont contradictoires, et par suite l'une des deux, même vraisemblable, est erronée. Mais comme elles sont les deux seules hypothèses possibles, et qu'il n'est au pouvoir de personne d'en former une troisième, il faut aussi que l'une des deux soit vraie. Donc, tout ce qu'on pourra opposer de valable à l'une fortifiera l'autre; à la limite, si l'on parvenait à prouver que l'une est fausse, l'autre ne serait plus seulement vraisemblable, mais nécessaire. C'est pourquoi toutes nos monographies de légendes, celles que nous avons publiées déjà, celles que nous publierons bientôt, comportent deux discussions, qui ne sont à vrai dire que deux éléments solidaires d'une même démonstration: la première, négative, dirigée contre l'hypothèse des origines anciennes de la légende considérée; la seconde, positive, où nous recourons

à l'autre principe d'explication, cherchant dans la vie du XIIe siècle des circonstances et des conditions propres à expliquer la formation de la légende. Ces conditions et circonstances peuvent avoir été autres que celles que nous croyons; elles peuvent en certains cas nous rester tout à fait mystérieuses; il n'en reste pas moins, si nous avons réussi à écarter comme impossible l'hypothèse contraire, que c'est dans le XIIe siècle qu'il faut chercher. La discussion négative nous importe donc bien plus que l'autre. Dans le cas d'Heldri et de Rainfroi comme dans les cas semblables, renoncer à discuter la théorie des origines anciennes, ce serait affaiblir la théorie adverse, celle des origines récentes; ce serait la trahir, puisqu'il faudrait se résigner à la présenter comme une hypothèse simplement plausible, alors que la discussion de la théorie contraire lui conférerait peut-être, par élimination, la force du nécessaire.

Nous sommes donc tenu, ici comme ailleurs, de discuter l'hypothèse de l'origine ancienne des chansons de geste. Comme elle consiste à affirmer l'existence de très anciens modèles, d'ailleurs perdus, de nos romans, on ne peut rien lui opposer dans l'ordre des faits, mais seulement dans l'ordre des vraisemblances. On n'a d'autre recours contre elle que le mode de démonstration que les traités de logique appellent la réduction à l'impossible. Il consiste à admettre par hypothèse la proposition contradictoire à celle qu'on veut soi-même démontrer (en l'espèce, à admettre que ces très anciens modèles de nos romans ont existé), puis à faire voir que cette supposition conduit à des invraisemblances, à des contradictions. La réduction à l'impossible est un mode de démonstration légitime; par malheur, celui qui s'en sert risque de prendre, par là même qu'il s'en sert, et malgré lui, à l'égard de ses devanciers, des allures qui ressemblent à celles de l'arrogance. C'est de leur point de vue même qu'il prétend voir autre chose que ce qu'ils ont vu. Il entre dans leur idée, il la fait sienne, mais c'est pour la mieux combattre. Il l'expose fidèlement, sans doute, et loyalement, sous son

jour le plus favorable, et cela est élémentaire, mais c'est pour la pousser ensuite jusqu'à un point où ses devanciers ne la reconnaissent plus, pour en tirer des conséquences propres à la ruiner. Par là, il semble méconnaître ce qu'il doit à leurs travaux. Il a beau admirer ces travaux de toute sa sincérité, il n'a même plus le moyen de le déclarer: toute déclaration de ce genre prendrait l'aspect d'une précaution intéressée ou d'une raillerie déguisée.

Pourtant ici, on n'a pas le choix. Ce n'est point par une disposition individuelle de son tempérament intellectuel que tel ou tel oppose à la théorie des origines anciennes de l'épopée la démonstration par l'impossible. Ce procédé s'impose et s'imposera à l'avenir à quiconque aura des raisons, bonnes ou mauvaises, de la révoquer en doute. Il faut ou bien la discuter de cette façon, car il n'y en a pas d'autre, ou bien renoncer à la discuter jamais, et par là priver de leur meilleure chance de prévaloir des idées que l'on croit plus vraies.

Je recourrai donc, ici comme en tant d'autres cas, à la démonstration par l'impossible, ou du moins par l'invraisemblable, car c'est un bon outil de vérité, et le seul dont on dispose en un tel sujet. C'est de ce sujet que j'ai traité à Johns Hopkins, en présence du Professeur Marshall Elliott; dans plusieurs autres Universités américaines, peuplées de ses élèves et de ses amis. Il est naturel et juste, en souvenir de ces choses, que j'aie songé à en traiter ici. Puissé-je le faire en cet esprit de science et de conscience qui est l'esprit de ces belles et chères Universités dont je fus l'hôte, qui fut l'esprit du Professeur Elliott!

II.

L'hypothèse est que l'imagination populaire, dès le temps de Charles Martel, s'empara de certains événements contemporains ou récents, qu'elle les transforma peu à peu par un travail qui dura des siècles et dont les fables des

chansons de geste marquent le point d'arrivée. Quels sont donc ces événements? et quelles sont ces fables? Nous mettrons en regard, ici le résumé de ces événements d'après les chroniques, là le résumé de ces fables d'après les chansons de geste, et nous rechercherons quel est le rapport de ceci à cela.

1. *L'histoire.* Voici d'abord, telle qu'on la lit partout,[11] l'histoire, assez compliquée, des débuts de Charles Martel.

Dans les deux pays d'Austrasie et de Neustrie, Pépin II avait laissé subsister par habitude des rois de la dynastie mérovingienne, rois insignifiants, bons seulement à signer les diplômes. Le vrai souverain, c'était lui: en Neustrie comme en Austrasie, la mairie du palais était devenue héréditaire dans sa maison, et il entendait qu'après lui les deux fils qu'il avait de sa femme Plectrude, Drogon et Grimoald, gouverneraient l'un et l'autre pays.

Par malheur ses deux fils moururent avant lui, Drogon vers l'an 708, Grimoald en 714. Quand Pépin mourut à son tour, le 16 décembre 714, Plectrude voulut exercer la régence, en Neustrie comme tutrice de son petit-fils Théodebald, fils de Grimoald, en Austrasie comme tutrice de ses petits-fils, Arnoul et Hugue, fils légitimes de Drogon.

Mais les Neustriens se soulevèrent. Ils chassèrent Théodebald, choisirent à sa place comme maire du palais l'un des leurs, Raginfred, et firent alliance, pour attaquer l'Austrasie, avec Radbod, duc des Frisons [715].

C'est alors que paraît pour la première fois dans l'histoire Charles, celui qui devait recevoir le surnom de Martel. C'était un fils de Pépin, né d'une concubine, la "noble et belle Alpaïde." Il avait alors environ vingt-sept ans, et "il était beau, valeureux, propre à la guerre." Quelque temps avant la mort de son père, en des circonstances qui ne nous sont pas connues, il avait été emprisonné, sur le désir de Plectrude. Il s'échappe de sa prison,[12] tandis que

[11] Voyez les *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes* (*Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, t. II, p. 173-4), le *Liber historiae Francorum* (*ibid.*, p. 325), etc.

[12] "His diebus Carlus dux a praefata femina Plectrude sub custodia detentus, Dei auxilio liberatus est" (Continuateur de Frédégaire, *l. l.*). "Carlus his diebus cum captus a Plectrude femina sub custodia teneretur, auxiliante Domino, vix evasit" (*Liber historiae Francorum, l. l.*).

les ennemis envahissaient le pays, s'offre aux Austrasiens inquiets d'être gouvernés en ce péril par une vieille femme, et soutient leur double guerre contre les Frisons et contre les Neustriens.

Il éprouve d'abord des revers. Il est battu par les Frisons [716]. Les Neustriens traversent l'Ardenne sans obstacle. Ils sont conduits par leur maire du palais Raginfred et (leur roi, Dagobert III, étant mort sur les entrefaites) par un nouveau roi qu'ils viennent de se donner: c'est un descendant incertain de Clovis, qui avait vécu jusque-là dans un monastère, sous le nom de Daniel; Raginfred a retiré de son cloître ce clerc, qui porte désormais le nom de Chilpéric II. Donc Chilpéric et Raginfred marchent contre Cologne, où Plectrude s'était enfermée. Ils la forcent à leur livrer une partie de ses trésors et reprennent le chemin de leur pays.

Mais Charles les atteint dans les Ardennes. Il leur inflige une grande défaite à Amblève, près de Malmédy, et, peu après [21 mars 717], les vainc une seconde fois à Vincy, dans le pays de Cambrai.

Il se retourne alors contre Plectrude, prend Cologne. "Plectrude lui rendit les trésors de son père Pépin et remit tout en son pouvoir."

Désormais Charles est maître en Austrasie. En Neustrie, il devra combattre encore, en 718, Chilpéric et Raginfred, alliés cette fois à Eudon, duc d'Aquitaine. Il les bat près de Soissons, les poursuit jusqu'à Orléans. Eudon rentre à grand'peine dans ses états, emmenant avec lui Chilpéric II. En 719, Eudon rendit Chilpéric à Charles, qui daigna alors le reconnaître pour roi.

2. *Les récits des chansons de geste.* Voici maintenant ce que racontent les trois chansons de *Berte,* de *Mainet,* de *Basin.* Nous les résumons chacune d'après la version la plus ancienne; et nous retenons dans ces analyses, si brèves soient-elles, tous les traits utiles à la comparaison.

a. Berte aux grands pieds. Pépin le Bref, pressé par ses barons de prendre femme, a demandé en mariage au roi Floire de Hongrie sa fille Berte. Elle vient à Paris; mais à peine le roi l'a-t-il épousée, une mégère, sa nourrice, abuse de son innocence et de sa crédulité. La vieille lui fait croire qu'elle risque la mort la nuit de ses noces, et Berte consent qu'une autre prenne sa place pour cette nuit. C'est le thème de folk-lore bien connu de la "Fiancée substituée." La fille de la vieille, la "serve" Aliste, remplace donc Berte dans le lit nuptial. Elle ressemble merveilleusement à la reine; le roi ne s'aperçoit pas de l'échange. Au matin, trompé par la serve, il chasse la vraie Berte, et durant des années la serve

règne sous le nom de sa malheureuse rivale. Cependant (c'est le thème de "Geneviève de Brabant," qui se retrouve, lui aussi, en tant de littératures populaires), la vraie reine vit inconnue et misérable dans la forêt du Mans. Un jour pourtant, l'imposture est découverte. La mégère est jetée au bûcher. Sa fille Aliste est traitée moins sévèrement, parce que le roi a eu d'elle deux fils, nommés l'aîné Rainfroi et l'autre Heldri. On se contente de la reléguer dans un monastère, à Montmartre, où elle élèvera ses bâtards. Mais qu' est devenue la vraie Berte? Nul ne sait. Les jours passent et les mois, tant que le roi la retrouve enfin dans la forêt du Mans. Charlemagne naîtra de leur union.[13]

b. Mainet. "Les fils de la serve, Heldri et Rainfroi, ont empoisonné Pépin et ensuite Berte. Pépin, en mourant, a confié à Rainfroi la garde du royaume et l'éducation du jeune Charles, son fils. Les "serfs" élèvent l'enfant d'une manière dégradante, le relèguent aux cuisines, et comme, malgré tout, il a des partisans et qu'il révèle un caractère fier, ils songent à le faire périr à son tour. Un fidèle serviteur de Charles, David, feint d'entrer dans leurs projets et devient leur confident. Il délibère avec d'autres amis de l'enfant et tous se décident à quitter la France, où Charles n'est plus en sûreté.

"La fuite est précipitée par un incident. Dans une fête, Charles et ses amis se déguisent en fous. Charles saisit à la cuisine une forte broche dans laquelle est passée un paon; et, après avoir bien bu et bien mangé, tous montent à la salle. Là, Charles frappe si rudement Rainfroi de sa broche qu'il tombe pâmé. On veut le saisir; mais les nobles fous sont armés, et parviennent à s'esquiver

[13] Ces traits sont communs pour la plupart à toutes les versions et se trouvent dans la plus ancienne, un passage de la *Chronique saintongeaise* (*Tote l'istoire de France*, edited by F. W. Bourdillon, 1897, p. 53), composée vers l'an 1225. Mais la *Chronique saintongeaise* a oublié de dire ce que deviennent la serve Aliste et ses enfants, quand la fraude est découverte. J'ai emprunté la donnée de sa relégation dans un monastère au joli poème d'Adenet le Roi, *Li romans de Berte aus granz piés* (éd. Paulin Paris, 1836, p. 131; cf. l'éd. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1874), qui fut rimé vers 1275.—Les versions de *Berte aux grands pieds* sont nombreuses, et elles ont été souvent étudiées. Le livre le plus récent sur la matière est celui de M. Joachim Reinhold, *Berte aus grans piés*, Cracovie, 1909. Je regrette de ne le connaître (il est écrit en polonais) que par une analyse que l'auteur en a publiée dans le *Bulletin de l'Académie des sciences de Cracovie*, décembre 1908. Les "positions" en sont aussi séduisantes que neuves.

sans être reconnus. Cependant les serfs, Rainfroi et Heldri, soupçonnent le véritable auteur de cette insolence et confient à David leur résolution de faire disparaître Charles le plus tôt possible. Celui-ci réunit les amis de l'enfant, et dans la nuit tous quittent le palais.

"Charles s'enfuit en Espagne chez le roi sarrasin Galafre; il se met à sa solde sous le nom de Mainet, lui rend les services les plus signalés et le délivre surtout d'un terrible ennemi, nommé Braimant. La fille de Galafre s'éprend de lui, se fait chrétienne, et ils se promettent de s'épouser, ce qui a lieu en effet au dénoûment.

"Après maintes prouesses en Espagne, puis en Italie, Charles rentre en France, finit par vaincre les serfs Rainfroi et Heldri; il les fait pendre et se fait couronner roi."[15]

c. Basin. L'auteur de ce poème[16] ignore les récits de *Berte* et de *Mainet*, ou du moins n'en tient nul compte. Mais il emploie, lui aussi, comme on va voir, Heldri et Rainfroi, en qualité d'adversaires de Charles et d'usurpateurs.

A la mort de Pépin, son fils Charles a trente-deux ans. Beaucoup de barons conspirent contre sa vie; mais Dieu lui révèle par un ange le péril. Il s'enfuit alors chez un chevalier fidèle, Thierry d'Ardenne. La nuit, l'ange apparaît à Charles et lui ordonne de faire chercher le larron Basin et d'aller voler avec lui: ainsi il pourra préserver ses jours."[17] Suit l'histoire pittoresque et bien connue

[15] J'ai emprunté ce résumé à un article de Gaston Paris (*Romania*, t. IV, p. 308; cf. l'*Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 230). L'auteur du *Pseudo-Turpin*, vers 1150, connaissait déjà *Mainet*. Mais la rédaction la plus ancienne qui nous soit parvenue date seulement de la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle, et nous n'en avons que des fragments (*Mainet, fragments d'une chanson de geste du XIIe siècle* publiés par G. Paris, *Romania*, t. IV, 1875, p. 305). Pourtant, grâce à de nombreux textes plus récents, on peut la compléter par endroits. Le fond du récit reste d'ailleurs partout le même (voyez la belle étude de Gaston Paris, aux pages 230-246 de l'*Histoire poétique*). Le résumé de G. Paris, transcrit ci-dessus, reproduit assurément en substance les récits de la chanson du XIIe siècle.

[16] Nous avons perdu le texte français de *Basin*, qui fut composé sans doute au XIIe siècle. Nous le connaissons surtout par le résumé qu'en a donné la *Karlamagnussaga* (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1864, p. 91-2. Cf. l'*Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 322).

[17] *Karlamagnussaga, l. l.*

de Charles larron de nuit. Qu'il nous suffise de rappeler que l'aventure se déroule au milieu des Ardennes, où le comte Rainfroi a son château. Charles, venu pour voler dans ce château, surprend un entretien de Rainfroi et de sa femme. Il apprend ainsi que des conjurés doivent le tuer à Aix-la-Chapelle, le jour de son couronnement: Rainfroi sera empereur, son frère Heldri sera duc. Au dénoûment, les traîtres sont mis à mort. Basin, qui a aidé Charles à les découvrir, obtient pour sa récompense la veuve de Rainfroi et son château de Tongres.

Comment comparer ces événements et ces fables? Il apparaît vite, et plus on les considère, plus il apparaît qu'un écart immense les sépare, un écart prodigieux. Où retrouver dans les romans la grande guerre des Neustriens et des Austrasiens? Que sont devenus Hugues et Arnoul? Où sont Radbod et ses Frisons? Où est donc Théodebald, le jeune maire du palais? où est donc son père Grimoald? Inversement, où retrouver, dans quels textes historiques, l'aventure de Berte persécutée? Aucune serve de Hongrie a-t-elle jamais régné en France? Aucun Pépin a-t-il jamais péri, empoisonné par ses bâtards? Aucun Charles a-t-il jamais grandi dans les cuisines? Certes, la légende peut, doit broder sur l'histoire; et c'est par là précisément qu'elle n'est pas l'histoire; mais ici, il nous faut constater qu'elle ne l'a pas seulement transformée; elle en a pris le contre-pied. Par un seul trait, toutes deux semblent concorder: [18] le Charles Martel historique et le Charlemagne légendaire ont chacun une marâtre; mais dans l'histoire, Charles Martel lutte contre sa marâtre, Plectrude; dans les romans, Charlemagne est débarrassé de la sienne, Aliste, avant même que de naître, ou tout enfant.[19] Dans l'histoire, Charles Martel est un bâtard qui attaque les héritiers légitimes, et l'usurpateur,

[18] C'est la seule analogie que Paulin Paris eût en effet remarquée, en 1842. Voyez la première note de ce mémoire.

[19] Tout enfant, selon quelques versions (voyez *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 228-9). Partout la fausse Berte est châtiée par Pépin et disparaît de la scène avant que Charles ait atteint l'âge d'homme.

c'est lui; dans les romans, Charlemagne est un fils légitime qui se défend contre des bâtards usurpateurs, et c'est juste le contraire. Dans la masse des fictions de tout genre que l'on a contées de Charlemagne, on rencontre, il est vrai, quelques récits légendaires qui font de lui un bâtard.[20] Mais dans ces récits, on ne trouve jamais ni Heldri, ni Rainfroi, ni rien qui rappelle les romans de *Berte,* de *Mainet,* de *Basin,* et pour cause, ces trois romans étant fondés sur la donnée précisément inverse; il est trop évident que la légende de la bâtardise de Charlemagne et celle de sa lutte contre ses frères bâtards sont par définition étrangères l'une à l'autre.

Et pourtant, ne l'avons-nous pas avoué? Rainfroi est bien Raginfred, Heldri Chilpéric, Charlemagne Charles Martel; Pépin III le Bref est bien Pépin II, et par suite Plectrude, sa femme, est bien Aliste.

Si c'est l'imagination populaire qui a opéré ces métamorphoses, nous sommes donc forcés de constater et de croire qu'elle s'est appliquée à tout confondre, à tout brouiller. Par son œuvre, durant des siècles, ces personnages se seront démenés comme en un vaudeville effréné, se substituant les uns aux autres, s'absorbant les uns les autres. La noble matrone Plectrude, transformée en une serve hongroise, s'est vu imposer des fils que son sein n'avait point portés: l'un est un prince mérovingien, l'autre un maire du palais de Neustrie, et ces fils neustriens de la vieille Austrasienne, que la légende lui commande de chérir, se trouvent être précisément les deux hommes qui, dans la réalité de la vie, vinrent la tourmenter à Cologne, lui prendre ses trésors, ses pires ennemis.

Nous sommes tenus en outre de constater et de croire que l'imagination populaire ne s'est travaillée de la sorte qu'au début, durant la période où les textes poétiques nous font défaut. Au contraire, au XIIe siècle, quand les chansons

[20] Notamment le récit du Flamand Jan Boendale, qui donne une servante pour mère à Charlemagne. Voyez l'*Histoire poétique,* p. 227; cf. *Le Origini dell' epopea francese,* p. 205. M. G. Huet publiera bientôt une étude sur la légende de la bâtardise de Charlemagne.

de geste apparaissent, elle est calmée. Nous n'avons entre les mains que trois romans d'aventures très simples, où quelques thèmes du folk-lore universel (thème de la Fiancée substituée, thème de l'habile voleur, etc.) se développent chacun selon sa loi, de la façon la plus normale et, si l'on peut ainsi dire, la plus classique; en sorte que le plan de *Mainet,* par exemple, ressemble au plan de *Bovon de Hanstone,* ou de *Floovant,* ou de tel autre "roman d'enfances." Dans nos trois chansons de geste, le roi chevelu, son maire du palais et leurs consorts, si agités naguère, se tiennent désormais tranquilles; ils ne se substituent plus les uns aux autres, ils ne s'absorbent plus les uns les autres; ils s'en tiennent chacun au rôle que les besoins du conte lui assignent; et les versions auront beau se succéder au XIIIe, au XIVe, au XVe siècles, partout ils resteront semblables à eux-mêmes, Heudri et Rainfroi toujours traîtres, Aliste toujours perfide, Berte toujours innocente et persécutée.

Nous sommes en un mot tenus de constater et de croire que les lois qui gouvernent la légende, mais seulement durant la période où les textes nous font défaut, sont justement les lois qui gouvernent nos esprits quand la raison, dans nos rêves par exemple, cesse de les régir.

Voilà la doctrine qu'il nous faut accepter. G. Paris en avait-il prévu tout le détail? Il n'a consacré à la question d'Heldri qu'une page rapide; le problème ne lui est apparu, ne pouvait lui apparaître, en 1865, que sous ses aspects les plus généraux. Il s'est borné à dire, très justement: "la poésie a confondu Charles Martel avec Charlemagne;" il l'a prouvé, et il a passé. C'est qu'au temps de l'*Histoire poétique de Charlemagne,* le travail qui s'imposait était de noter des concordances entre les textes historiques et les textes poétiques. Mais les critiques plus récents ont senti qu'il fallait tenir compte aussi de leurs divergences, et les expliquer. Puisque l'on avait à la fois sous les yeux, ici la biographie vraie de Chilpéric et des autres, là leur biographie légendaire, et puisque l'on tenait pour assuré que la poésie avait tiré ceci de cela,

il convenait de suivre en son détail, depuis son point de départ connu jusqu'à son point d'arrivée connu, la marche de l'imagination populaire; les concordances et les divergences devaient pareillement s'expliquer, par le jeu des lois qui gouvernent la légende. M. Pio Rajna, le premier, aperçut clairement cette conséquence, et nous lui devons les premiers exemples et les premiers modèles de ces comparaisons détaillées entre *toutes* les données de l'histoire et *toutes* les données de la poésie. Il a donc voulu, par un effort qui n'eut rien d'arbitraire, qui était dans la logique du système, expliquer ici le travail de la légende et le justifier.[21]

A notre sens, il n'y a pas réussi, parce que nul ne saurait y réussir. Ses explications ne font, croyons-nous, que préciser les difficultés que nous venons de mettre en relief. Mais, puisque le lecteur peut en juger autrement, il convient de résumer ici le système de M. Rajna.[22]

On retrouve, dit-il, dans l'histoire de Charles Martel "tous les personnages et toutes les aventures"[23] des chansons de geste. En effet 1° la reine Berte est Alpaïde; 2° la serve Aliste est Plectrude; 3° Heldri et Rainfroi sont Grimoald et Théodebald, fils et petit-fils de Pépin, auxquels se sont substitués par la suite Chilpéric II et Raginfred. Voici comment et pourquoi.

1° *Berte est Alpaïde.* "Les rôles sont renversés, écrit M. Rajna; la concubine de l'histoire est la femme légitime de la légende. On aurait grand tort de s'en étonner; il faudrait n'avoir nulle pratique de telles matières pour ne pas comprendre que la légende devait s'efforcer d'enlever du front

[21] Voyez ses *Origini dell' epopea francese*, p. 199-222, surtout les pages 203 à 216.

[22] Je m'appliquerai à rendre sa pensée d'une façon claire et fidèle; ce résumé sera fait d'ailleurs, presque tout entier, de citations. Mais, quoi qu'il fasse, à son insu, qui résume déforme; je souhaite donc que le lecteur se reporte, de ce sommaire nécessairement incomplet, au livre de M. Rajna.

[23] *Le origini* . . . , p. 203.

des Carolingiens, une fois qu'ils eurent triomphé, la tache d'une origine illégitime." [24]

2° *Aliste est Plectrude.* La femme légitime de l'histoire est la concubine de la légende. " C'est que la légende a une manière à elle de voir les choses, qui ne lui aurait pas permis de traiter avec les mêmes égards deux femmes manifestement rivales. Dans le parti contraire à celui qu'elle embrasse, il ne saurait y avoir que des méchants. Donc, puisqu'elle était pour la mère de Charles, il fallait qu'elle fût de la façon la plus déclarée contre sa rivale, qui dut devenir une usurpatrice perfide et une serve, ce que peut-être avait été, dans la réalité, sa rivale Alpaïde." [25]

3° *Rainfroi et Heudri sont Grimoald et Théodebald, auxquels se sont substitués Raginfred et Chilpéric.* L'histoire opposait à Charles Martel jusqu'à sept adversaires: ses frères Drogon et Grimoald, ses neveux Hugues, Arnoul et Théodebald, et encore Chilpéric et Raginfred. Ils étaient trop. La légende, dit M. Rajna, ne fit pas entrer en ligne de compte Drogon, mort trop tôt, ni Hugues et Arnoul, qui étaient trop jeunes. Restaient quatre adversaires encore, Grimoald, Théodebald, Chilpéric, Raginfred. " Complication trop grande pour la légende, qui a toujours le cœur généreux, mais l'intelligence courte. Une simplification devait donc se produire, réglée, comme il arrive toujours, par la loi du plus fort. Or, il ne peut être douteux que les faibles fussent ici Grimoald, qui eut le grand tort de mourir avant Pépin, et Théodebald, un enfant. . . . Nulle comparaison n'était possible entre ces figures et les deux restantes: Chilpéric et Raginfred, le roi et son maire du palais. C'est contre eux que Charles Martel dut soutenir une lutte qui ne fut ni courte, ni facile; c'est à eux qu'il ravit le gouvernement de la France. Grimoald et Théodebald se laissèrent donc, par loi de nature, supprimer et absorber." [26]

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 203. [25] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 210-211. M. Rajna a marqué d'autres relations encore

Telles sont les explications de M. Rajna. Plusieurs les trouveront peut-être compliquées. Mais s'ils admettent l'hypothèse qui les a provoquées, à savoir que les chansons de *Berte*, de *Mainet* et de *Basin* sont d'origine ancienne et populaire, ils sont bien tenus de croire que les choses se sont passées sensiblement comme le dit M. Rajna, et d'adopter toutes ses combinaisons; ou d'en proposer d'autres à la place, mais qui seront nécessairement de même nature, et, comment qu'on s'y prenne, nul n'en saurait proposer de plus minutieusement étudiées, ni qui soient fondées sur une meilleure connaissance des textes.

Si pourtant quelques lecteurs estiment que les explications de M. Rajna n'ont pas résolu toutes les difficultés marquées ci-avant, s'ils jugent que l'hypothèse générale de l'ancienneté des chansons de geste les a conduits, en ce cas particulier, à des conséquences peu vraisemblables, s'ils subissent ces conséquences plutôt qu'ils ne les acceptent, le moment est venu de leur soumettre l'autre hypothèse.

entre l'histoire et la légende. J'en relève deux, pour être moins incomplet. P. 215. "Le Charlemagne légendaire naît, selon tous les textes, après les fils de la fausse Berte; Charles Martel était réellement plus jeune, et de plusieurs années, que Drogon et Grimoald."—P. 213-4. Heldri a pour prototype Chilpéric, qui était roi; Rainfroi a pour prototype Raginfred, qui était simple maire du palais. Cependant, les romans, renversant l'ordre officiel des préséances, font de Rainfroi l'aîné, d'Heldri le cadet. C'est, dit M. Rajna, que le Mérovingien n'était qu'un "fantoche royal," tandis que le maire du palais était le vrai roi; "de la sorte, la tradition épique rend la condition vraie des choses *mieux* que les chroniqueurs du temps." (Si pourtant il avait pris fantaisie aux auteurs des romans de dire qu' Heldri était l'aîné, la théorie n'en eût-elle pas tiré pareillement avantage? Ne se serait-elle pas contentée du fait que la tradition épique aurait rendu la condition vraie des choses *aussi bien* que les chroniqueurs du temps?)

III.

L'autre hypothèse, celle des origines récentes des chansons de geste, est issue pour une part (il serait facile de le montrer et nous comptons le montrer ailleurs), et procède des travaux mêmes de G. Paris, de M. Rajna et des savants de leur école. Elle s'est précisée depuis une quinzaine d'années, grâce à M. Phil.-Aug. Becker surtout, grâce à M. Camille Jullian, à M. Baist, à plusieurs autres érudits. Elle a pris aujourd'hui assez de force pour que deux critiques récents, M. Phil.-Aug. Becker,[27] et M. Joachim Reinhold,[28] aient traité de *Berte,* de *Mainet,* de *Basin* comme de romans imaginés de toutes pièces au XIIe siècle, sans nulles racines dans le passé.

Mais que font-ils de Rainfroi et d'Heldri? Ce ne sont que des noms dans nos romans, disent-ils, en quoi ils nous semblent bien avoir raison. Encore ne pouvons-nous, si gênant que soit le fait, empêcher que ces noms se trouvent dans nos romans. Comment s'y trouvent-ils?

* * *

Pour répondre, et si nous voulons soutenir que l' " élément historique " de ces romans n'est pas un résidu de récits épiques ou de poèmes du VIIIe siècle, il faut que notre explication satisfasse à trois conditions difficiles. Il nous faut montrer que nos romanciers ont pu tenir leurs renseignements d'hommes qui avaient encore de leur temps, au XIIe siècle, des raisons de parler de Charles Martel, de Chilpéric, de Raginfred. Il nous faut de plus montrer—et ceci est plus malaisé—que nos romanciers ont pu être induits en erreur par ces renseignements, au point de confondre Charles Martel avec Charlemagne. Il nous faut enfin rendre compte du fait qu'ils emploient la bonne forme populaire *Heldri.*

Le point de départ de notre recherche a été cette remarque

[27] *Die nationale Heldensage,* 1907, p. 64-5.
[28] *Berte aus grans piés,* Cracovie, 1909.

que la chanson de *Basin* est assez bien localisée: Charles s'enfuit d'Aix-la-Chapelle dans l'Ardenne, les aventures principales se déroulent soit dans la forêt d'Ardenne, soit dans la résidence de Rainfroi, à Tongres. Or, c'est dans l'Ardenne, à 40 kilomètres environ de Tongres et au même diocèse, que Charles Martel a d'abord combattu Raginfred et Chilpéric: à Amblève, sur la rivière du même nom. Si l'on cherche sur la carte le monastère le plus voisin de ce champ de bataille, on trouve, sur la même rivière, l'abbaye bénédictine de Stavelot,[29] fondée vers 650, par saint Remacle, qui fut évêque de Tongres.[30] Un homme qui va de Tongres à Stavelot traverse le champ de bataille d'Amblève.

L'abbaye de Stavelot, unie à celle de Malmédy,[31] fut durant des siècles puissante et fréquentée. On montre encore aujourd'hui, dans l'église paroissiale de Stavelot, la châsse de saint Remacle, qui est un chef-d'œuvre d'orfévrerie,[32] et le roman de *Renaut de Montauban* [33] nous rappelle, entre tant d'autres textes, que les reliques de ce saint attiraient jadis des visiteurs nombreux. En ce monastère, qui fut un foyer hagiographique, on lisait les vieilles chroniques. Toutes les vieilles chroniques racontent la bataille d'Amblève: les moines n'avaient-ils pas songé à lier cet événement, qui s'était passé chez eux, à l'histoire légendaire de leur maison?

Nous avons donc cherché parmi les documents de l'abbaye et trouvé le texte que voici.

[29] Stavelot (Belgique), à 36 km. au S.-E. de Liège. Voyez Arsène de Noüe, *Etudes historiques sur l'ancien pays de Stavelot et de Malmédy*, Liège, 1848.

[30] Voyez la *Vita s. Remacli*, au t. v, p. 88, des *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, le *Répertoire* d'Ulysse Chevalier, etc.

[31] Malmédy (Prusse), à 8 km. de Stavelot. On voit encore des restes importants des édifices anciens, tant à Stavelot qu'à Malmédy.

[32] Elle a été décrite par Martène, *Voyage littéraire . . .*, t. II, p. 154, et reproduite par A. de la Noüe dans les *Annales de l'académie d'archéologie de Belgique*, Anvers, 1866, p. 451.

[33] Ed. Michelant, p. 53; v. 1979 de l'éd. F. Castets. Cf. *Garin le Lorrain*, éd. P. Paris, t. I, p. 170.

C'est l'histoire de l'un des successeurs de saint Remacle, le moine Agilolf, qui fut abbé de Malmédy et de Stavelot, puis archevêque de Cologne. On écrivit à Malmédy, sans doute vers la fin du XIe siècle,[34] un récit édifiant de sa mort, la *Passio Agilolfi*.[35] C'est une composition toute fabuleuse; pour le marquer, il suffit d'indiquer qu'elle fait mourir le saint en 716, alors qu'il ne devint en réalité abbé de Stavelot que vers 750. Il mourut martyr, selon son hagiographe; et quels furent les auteurs de son martyre? Raginfred et Chilpéric.

Quand mourut le roi Pépin, son fils Charles lui succéda au royaume des Francs. Il était beau et fort; il n'avait pas encore atteint l'âge d'homme, et pourtant il était déjà glorieux par ses victoires. Le saint archevêque de Cologne, Agilolf, était son plus cher conseiller. Or, tandis que Charles, par droit de naissance, tenait le sceptre royal, la France s'anima contre lui d'une haine violente. Elle éleva au trône Daniel, ancien clerc, sous le nom de *Helpricus*. Elle l'envoya contre le pieux roi, ainsi que l'usurpateur *Raginfridus*, espérant que tous deux lui enlèveraient à la fois la vie et le royaume.[36]

Les deux *tyranni* pénètrent dans l'Ardenne, ravagent cette contrée, pillent Cologne; ils dépouillent les églises, et rentrent dans l'Ardenne. Ils choisissent Amblève, sur la rivière de ce nom, pour s'y partager leur butin. Leur armée est composée de Francs, d'Aquitains, et même de païens de diverses nations.

[34] Entre 1089 et 1099; voir les raisons que donnent les Bollandistes à l'appui de cette date. En tout cas, la *Passio* est postérieure à la translation des reliques de saint Agilolf à Cologne, laquelle fut faite par l'archevêque Annon après 1075.

[35] Publiée dans les *Acta sanctorum* des Bollandistes, t. II de juillet, p. 721.

[36] "Igitur apud Francorum gentem, Pipino rege vita exempto, Carolus, filius ejus, decorus ac robustus, successit in regno. Qui licet puerili teneretur aevo, gloriosus tamen habebatur in triumpho. Hic consilio sapienti sanctissimi archipraesulis utebatur Agilolfi. . . . In hunc, regalia sceptra jure tenentem, Francia malignis odiis exarsit, Danielemque quondam clericum, mutato nomine Helpricum vocans, in regno sublimavit, quem cum tyranno Raginfrido contra pium principem direxit, et, ut eum simul vita et regno privarent, invidia stimulante, suggessit."

A ces nouvelles, le roi Charles (*clarissimus rex Carolus*) va d'abord à Cologne, consoler son ami Agilolf. Il le charge d'aller en ambassade vers *Helpricus* et *Raginfridus:* il les sommera de vider sa terre.

Agilolf se met en route, fait d'abord visite à ses frères de Malmédy,[37] qu'il retrouve avec joie, et gagne de là le camp ennemi. A la vue d'un prêtre de Dieu, sans même lui laisser le temps de faire son message, des soldats se précipitent sur lui, le percent de coups. C'est à Amblève qu'il reçoit ainsi le martyre. Son âme s'échappe, sous la forme d'une colombe blanche comme neige.

Les moines de l'abbaye recueillent son corps et le transportent dans leur église de Saint-Laurent. Sur sa tombe se produisent des miracles que l'hagiographe raconte. Mais le plus beau est celui-ci.

Amblève est un lieu dans le *pagus* d'Ardenne, à deux milles du monastère de Malmédy. Il est entouré de forêts épaisses et de montagnes propres à y bâtir des châteaux-forts. C'est pourquoi Daniel et *Raginfridus*, dont les satellites avaient livré à la mort le saint prélat, y avaient établi leur camp. Ils méditaient de plonger leur épée dans le cœur de Charles; ils ignoraient qu'en ce lieu-là même, ils subiraient de grandes pertes de leurs troupes.[38] Ils avaient comme alliés Eudon, duc des Aquitains, et Rabod, duc des Frisons.

Le roi Charles a appris la mort de son ami Agilolf. Pour le venger il se hâte d'entrer en campagne. Il s'avance dans l'Ardenne, cachant sa marche, non point au bruit des trompettes, mais en silence. Il poste ses troupes en embuscade aux défilés des bois qui entourent Amblève, et dans les bourgades environnantes. Puis il va dans l'église prier sur la tombe d'Agilolf,—et le lecteur devine que Charles vengera le martyr aux lieux mêmes où il est tombé.

En un lieu nommé *Rona*, Charles rencontre une vieille matrone, très sage, venue d'Amblève, qui lui indique un stratagème: "Rassemble, lui dit-elle, toutes tes troupes sur la lisière de la forêt. Que chaque soldat prenne une branche feuillue, assez grande pour couvrir le cheval et le cavalier, et que, portant ces armes nouvelles, ils s'avancent sous tes ordres, au point du jour, en silence et au pas,

[37] C'est au printemps (la date du martyre d'Agilolf étant marquée au 1er avril):

> Tempus erat, gelidus canis cum montibus humor
> Liquitur, et Zephiro putris se glebo resolvit;
> Frondebant silvae, ridebant floribus herbae. . .

On retrouve ainsi, parsemés dans la prose de l'hagiographe, un certain nombre de vers.

[38] "Ignari se passuros magnum de suis in eodem loco dispendium."

vers le camp des ennemis." On fait ainsi: l'armée se concentre en un lieu qui s'appelle encore *Ad Catervas.*[39]

Reginfridus et *Hilpericus* voient au matin marcher contre eux la forêt. Ils s'épouvantent: la forêt les poursuit. Leur défaite.

Rien n'indique que l'hagiographe ait connu des chansons de geste quelconques. Par contre, il a exploité les chroniques latines, et le fait est trop clair pour qu'on s'arrête à le démontrer.[40] Notre auteur a lu des livres, mais il a regardé aussi, il a écouté. Il a parcouru la route, "longue de deux milles,"[41] qui va de son abbaye au champ de bataille; il a noté les aspects du paysage; il a vu le bois, au lieu nommé *Ad Catervas,* où Charles avait massé ses troupes. Peut-être a-t-il entendu raconter sur place l'histoire, attachée à tant d'autres champs de bataille, de la forêt qui marche.[42] Peut-être, longtemps avant qu'il n'ait écrit, montrait-on déjà près d'Amblève l'endroit où Agilolf avait reçu le martyre. Ou

[39] "Novis armis munitae *catervae, catervatim* non diviso cuneo coeperunt incedere, et idcirco nomen illius loci dicitur *Ad Catervas* usque hodie."

[40] En voici pourtant deux indices. L'auteur dit qu' Eudon d'Aquitaine était alors allié de Chilpéric: c'est pour avoir lu un peu vite les chroniques, qui disent que cette alliance se forma un peu plus tard, mais qui toutes en parlent à la même page où elles racontent la bataille d'Amblève.—On lit dans la *Passio Agilolfi* cette phrase: *ignari se passuros magnum de suis in eodem loco dispendium;* la même expression, appliquée à la même bataille d'Amblève, se retrouve dans le *Liber historiae* (p. 325): *in loco quidem Amblava maximum . . . perpessi sunt dispendium,* et en plusieurs autres récits.

[41] Le village d'Amblève est à près de vingt kilomètres de Stavelot; mais sans doute localisait-on alors la bataille plus près de l'abbaye. Il faudrait pouvoir identifier le lieu dit *Ad Catervas.* Le lieu appelé *Rona* par la *Passio* doit être *Roenne,* à 2 km. au N. de Stavelot, sur la rive droite de l'Amblève.

[42] Ce thème populaire, illustre depuis Shakespeare, se trouve déjà dans le *Liber historiae,* c. 36, appliqué à la bataille de Braisne, près Soissons, où Frédégonde défit les Austrasiens (cf. Kurth, *Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens,* 1893, p. 396-402).

bien a-t-il inventé le premier les principaux traits de son récit? On ne sait, et il n'importe guère. Bien avant lui on a dû conter, on doit conter encore aujourd'hui en ces régions de telles histoires, celles-là même, ou d'autres: de tout temps il s'est trouvé des clercs à Stavelot pour lire les vieilles annales et pour parler autour d'eux de la bataille de Charles et de Rainfroi.

Un lecteur de la *Passio sancti Agilolfi,* lecteur du XIIe siècle ou du XXe, qu'y apprend-il des événements du temps de Charles et de Raginfred?

1° Il n'y apprend rien de Plectrude, de Grimoald, d' Hugues, d'Arnoul, ni de Théodebald, ni d'Alpaïde, ni des faits compliqués qui mirent aux prises Austrasiens et Neustriens. Ces faits et ces personnages, l'hagiographe les connaissait pourtant, puisque toutes les chroniques en font mention à la même page, et qu'il avait lu une chronique. Mais, comme il ne s'y intéressait pas pour eux-mêmes, comme seule la gloire d'Agilolf et de son abbaye l'intéressaient, il a simplifié. Remarquons que pas un des personnages ni des faits par lui éliminés ne se rencontre non plus dans nos trois chansons de geste; par contre, il n'y a pas un trait historique de nos trois chansons qui ne se trouve aussi dans la *Passio sancti Agilolfi.*

2° Le lecteur de la *Passio* y voit que le vainqueur d'Amblève est nommé, d'un bout à l'autre du texte, *Carolus* tout court.[43] Il est roi de France, ce que n'était pas Charles Martel. Il est dit fils de Pépin; on n'indique pas de quel Pépin. A moins que le lecteur ne connaisse déjà par quelque

[43] Pourtant, on lit une fois *Carolus Martellus* dans le titre du chapitre II (*Miracula Sancti ope patrata. Victoria Caroli Martelli*); mais il se peut que ce titre ait été ajouté par les Bollandistes. Si même il a été écrit par le vieil hagiographe, notre remarque subsiste, à condition qu'on l'applique à quelqu'un qui aura non pas lu lui-même le texte de la *Passio,* mais qui aura entendu raconter la mort du saint.

autre source la bataille d'Amblève, comment reconnaîtrait-il Charles Martel? S'il comprend que ce *clarissimus rex Carolus, filius Pipini* est Charlemagne, n'est-ce pas une erreur presque nécessaire? C'est précisément la même erreur qui se retrouve dans nos trois chansons de geste. Quand il nous arrive, pour nous être renseignés dans un livre peu clair, d'attribuer à Louis VII de France tel acte de Louis VI, cet accident ne s'appelle pas un "transfert épique," mais, plus simplement, une méprise.

3° Le lecteur voit dans la *Passio* que deux personnages s'élèvent contre Charles: l'un, Helpricus, s'affuble du titre de roi; mais l'autre, qu'est-il par rapport à ce faux-roi? Le lecteur ne saurait le deviner; mais, voyant que les deux "*tyranni*" sont toujours mis sur un même plan (*Helpricus cum tyranno Raginfrido*), il est obligé de comprendre que ce sont deux compagnons, deux égaux. Il en est ainsi dans nos trois chansons de geste; elles précisent seulement, et de ces égaux elles font des frères.

4° La *Passio sancti Agilolfi* appelle l'un de ces "tyranni" *Helpricus,* et par là perd toute portée la remarque que le *Heldri* des chansons de geste est un mot de bonne formation populaire. L'hagiographe a employé la forme *Helpricus,* soit qu'il l'ait trouvée dans sa source latine,[44] soit qu'il l'ait reçue des gens du pays, lesquels devaient raconter sur la bataille d'Amblève et sur saint Agilolf de plus anciens récits de clercs. En tout cas, ce n'est pas *Chilpericus* que le lecteur trouve dans la *Passio,* c'est *Helpricus;* il le traduit en français Helpri: comment le traduirait-il, sinon Helpri? Ainsi feront nos chansons de geste.

[44] Je trouve *Helpericus* en bien des textes (dans les *Annales Mellicenses,* Pertz, *SS.,* t. IX, p. 494; dans le *Herimanni Augiensis Chronicum, SS.,* t. V, p. 97, dans une *Genealogia regum Francorum, SS.,* t. XIII, p. 247, etc.). Les *Genealogiæ comitum Bulonensium* (*SS.,* t. IX, p. 300) donnent *Hilpericus* et *Hildricus.* Je trouve *Hilphricus* et la variante *Helprichus* dans les *Annales Laurissenses minores* (*SS.,* t. I, p. 114).

En résumé, un lecteur de la *Passio,* au XXe siècle ou au XIIe, que peut-il retenir de sa lecture? Nécessairement ceci: qu'Helpri et Rainfroi furent deux traîtres qui conspirèrent contre Charles, roi de France, peu après la mort de son père Pépin, pour le tuer et pour usurper son trône. C'est tout l'élément historique du roman de *Basin:* dans *Basin,* Heldri et Rainfroi sont deux frères qui conspirent contre Charles (Charlemagne), roi de France, peu après la mort de son père Pépin, pour le tuer et pour usurper son trône. Les traîtres sont devenus des frères, et Helpri Heldri,[45] là est toute la différence.

Rappelons-nous que la chanson de *Basin* et la légende de saint Agilolf sont localisées toutes deux dans l'Ardenne, et concluons que tout se passe comme si l'auteur de *Basin* avait lu la *Passio sancti Agilolfi.* Nous ne disons pas qu'il l'ait lue; nous disons: tout se passe comme si . . . Il a pu faire le pèlerinage de saint Remacle à Stavelot; il a pu connaître quelqu'un qui l'avait fait. Un sermon entendu le jour de la fête du saint, une anecdote contée par un clerc de Malmédy ont pu lui transmettre la teneur de la *Passio.* Admettons même que les Bollandistes aient fixé à tort à la fin du XIe siècle la date de la *Passio,* qu'elle ait été rédigée plus tard. De tout temps on a dû parler de Charles, d'Helpri, de Rainfroi à Stavelot, auprès de la tombe d'Agilolf,[46] aux environs d'Amblève, quand on montrait aux voyageurs le champ de bataille et le lieu consacré par le sang du martyr; on a dû en parler sur cette route que hantaient—nous le savons par un texte souvent cité—les *cantores joculares.*[47]

[45] L'accident qui a fait dire Heldri pour Helpri est-il le fait d'un sacristain de Stavelot, ou d'un guide d'Amblève, ou d'un chanteur de geste, etc.? On ne peut le savoir, et il n'importe pas de le savoir.

[46] Et même après que ses reliques eurent été transférées à Cologne.

[47] Voyez Léon Gautier, *Les épopées françaises,* t. II, p. 123. C'est un passage des *Miracula s. Remacli* (*Acta sanctorum,* t. I de septembre, p. 722, d'après les *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium,* œuvre du XIe siècle). On y raconte comment un *cantor jocularis,* tandis que l'on transfère de Stavelot à Liège le corps de saint Remacle,

L'auteur de *Basin* aura donc le premier emprunté aux légendes de Stavelot les noms d'Heldri et de Rainfroi et la donnée de leur complot contre Charlemagne. Quand plus tard d'autres poètes, ceux de *Mainet* et de *Berte,* voulurent composer sur Charlemagne des " poèmes d'enfances," quand ils ramassèrent à cet effet dans le folk-lore les thèmes de la mère persécutée, de la fiancée substituée, du jeune prince en lutte contre ses frères bâtards, etc., ils eurent besoin de deux noms de traîtres: le roman de *Basin* les leur fournit.

Au diocèse de Tongres et Liège, et dans l'Ardenne, et tout le long de la Meuse, on recueille à pleines mains des " traditions " sur les premiers Carolingiens. A l'abbaye d'Andenne, sur la Meuse, on montrait au XIVe siècle la tombe de Berte aux grands pieds. On y vénérait sainte Begge († 694), mère de Pépin II, et c'est sur son autel que le fabuleux Maugis d'Aigremont, décidé à finir ses jours dans un ermitage, vint déposer en ex-voto son épée et son écu.[48] Selon Adenet le Roi, le duc Nayme est le fondateur de Namur.[49] A Herstal, où naquit, dit-on, Pépin II, on conserve sur lui diverses traditions. A Jupille, près de Liège, où il mourut, on montre de nos jours une fontaine, dite " fontaine de la Belle Alpaïde." [50]—C'est quelque savant de village, dira-t-on, qui l'a baptisée ainsi, par une fantaisie toute récente.—Sans doute; mais le mécanisne de ces légendes, des anciennes comme des récentes, est le même. Un récit historique part toujours d'un livre. Il ne se maintient dans la tradition

est réveillé la nuit par une vision; suivi de son *sodalis,* il court rejoindre les veilleurs du corps saint, " ac, ignarus quid caneret, fortuitu cœpit de sancto percurrere plura canendo. Ac nostros digestim referendo casus tristes sua quodammodo solabatur cantilena, choris concinentibus. Rex autem desuper auscultans per fenestram . . . . intendebat sollicitus . . ."

[48] Dans la version du manuscrit 764 de la Bibliothèque nationale (voyez *La Chanson des Quatre fils Aymon,* éd. F. Castets, 1909, p. 206).

[49] *Berte aux grands pieds,* éd. Scheler, v. 233 et suiv.; éd. P. Paris, p. 14.

[50] Voyez la *Belgique monumentale,* 1845, t. II, p. 149.

orale qu'à l'état de légende locale, c'est à dire s'il se trouve en tel lieu des hommes qui aient intérêt ou plaisir à le répéter. Ces légendes locales se déforment et s'oublieraient; mais le "savant" est toujours là pour les rappeler, maître d'école ou curé, le clerc qui a lu dans ses livres. "Tradition populaire?" ou "tradition savante?" Cette distinction n'a guère de sens, appliquée aux légendes locales. Le récit du clerc revient au clerc enrichi de traits de folk-lore, retourne au "peuple" chargé de nouveaux traits livresques, se renouvelle; les clers donnent et reçoivent, le peuple reçoit et donne.

Dans le cas d'Heldri et de Rainfroi, comme partout ailleurs, pour expliquer l'élément historique d'une chanson de geste, il n'y a qu'à la "localiser."

Nous croyons exacte notre explication de l'élément historique de *Basin,* de *Mainet,* de *Berte* par les légendes de Stavelot. Mais peut-être, après tout, les légendes de Stavelot n'y sont-elles pour rien. On peut contester notre explication; il nous suffit qu'on ne puisse pas raisonnablement en contester le principe. Pour rendre inutile l'hypothèse, invraisemblable en soi, que l'élément historique de ces romans du XIIe siècle proviendrait de poèmes ou de récits du VIIIe, il suffit qu'au XIIe siècle, au temps des chansons de geste, on ait pu en un lieu quelconque, comme à Stavelot, avoir des raisons actuelles de parler encore de Charles Martel et de Rainfroi: et de tels lieux ne manquent pas.[51] Si ce n'est pas à Stavelot que s'est formée, au XIIe siècle, notre légende, c'est donc ailleurs, au XIIe siècle; ailleurs, c'est à dire dans un autre Stavelot. Pour comprendre les romans du XIIe siècle, il ne suffit pas d'interroger les livres du VIIIe; il faut plutôt regarder la vie du XIIe siècle.

[51] On trouve des récits légendaires sur Charles Martel, Raginfred, etc., dans les *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* (Saint-Wandrille, texte du VIIIe siècle, *SS.*, t. II, p. 277, 279, 281, 287);— dans les *Monumenta Epternacensia* (Echternach, en Luxembourg, texte du XIIe siècle; ici, Raginfred épouse Plectrude! *SS.*, t. XXIII, p. 59-62); — dans les *Aegidii Aureavallensis Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* (texte du XIIIe siècle, copié d'ailleurs ici de Sigebert de Gembloux, *SS.*, *t.* XXV, p. 47);— etc.

AN UNPUBLISHED FOURTEENTH CENTURY INVOCATION TO MARY MAGDALEN: *IL EST BIEN TEMPS QUE JE M'AVISE*

EDITED BY

H. A. Todd

The following Old French poem occupies the last nine folios of a manuscript now in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan of New York. This manuscript, which once formed part of the Ashburnham-Barrois Collection and appeared in Lord Ashburnham's early catalogue, printed about 1860, as No. 170, was bought from Quaritch by Mr. John Edward Kerr, Jr., of New York, in 1903. A catalogue of Mr. Kerr's collections, previous to their sale to Mr. Morgan, was privately printed in 1903, under the title "Catalogue of Manuscripts, Early Printed Books and General Works on Mediæval Romance Literature." In this catalogue the manuscript in question is listed, on page 8, as No. 7: "Rommant dou Lis. Cest la premiere preface dou rommant dou lis."[1] Folios 81-105, contain a versified rendering of the *Apocalypse,* which was edited by the present writer in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* vol. xviii (1903), pp. 535-577.

In the brief catalogue description of the ms. we read: "Folio 81: Ci commence Lapocalipse. Folio 114: Explicit ex parte Petri Mathei Clerici. ms. of the end of the Fourteenth Century, written on 114 leaves of pure vellum." This *explicit,* however, of folio 114, marks the end, not of the poem of the *Apocalypse,* but of an entirely different pro-

[1] The text of the *Rommant dou Lis,* folios 1-80, with introduction, etc., will appear in due time as a Columbia doctor's dissertation.

duction, beginning, without rubric or other indication of title, at folio 105,—a poem of 481 verses the presence of which in the MS. has, so far as I am aware, never before been pointed out.

In view of the more or less nondescript, tho deeply religious, nature of the poem and the absence of any title in the unique manuscript containing it, the supposition is not a violent one that the author himself—who was possibly the otherwise unknown Petrus Matheus of the *explicit*—committed his modest waif to the tender care of posterity without even tacking to it the useful appendage of a name. It is perhaps with an embarrassment somewhat similar to his, that I have ventured, for the convenience of the future bibliographer rather than for the enlightenment of the present reader, to designate this not uninteresting bit of literary flotsam as, in some sense at least, an *Invocation to Saint Mary Magdalen.*

In the case of so brief a text it will be unnecessary to provide either an analysis or a summary. Suffice it to premise that the effusion partakes of the nature at once of an invocation, a narrative, a reflection and a rhapsody, and, so far as subject-matter is concerned, keeps strictly within the outlines of the Gospel story of the Magdalen, suggesting not at all the extraneous legends of the Saint as they may be found adequately set forth by Adolf Schmidt in his study of *Guillaume le clerc de Normandie, insbesondere seine Magdalenenlegende* (*Romanische Studien,* IV, 493-543).

The linguistic and formal features of the poem may likewise, it appears to me, be fittingly dismissed without elaborate discussion. The composition is framed, thruout, in 8-syllabled 8-line strophes, riming *ababbaba.* The rectification of an occasional accidental deviation from this order serves, of itself, here and there, to restore the true reading of the text. Few peculiarities of the rime are to be noted: *convaintre,* 383, rimes with *maistre, paistre, naitre;* as a counterpart to this, *fraiche,* riming with *estache, decraiche, tache,*

is spelled *frainche*. The recognition of a prevalent tendency to hiatus leads the editor to retain the reading of the MS. (v. 14 and similarly in a few cases elsewhere):

Et la beauté de innocence,

where it would otherwise be so natural to emend: *de l'innocence*.

As to vocabulary, it may be pointed out that *refugere* (= *refuge*), which is not found in the dictionaries, occurs twice (225, 395); *rainte*, 288, is a rare example of REDEMPTA; *oviaux*, 118 (= OVELLOS from OVIS; cf. Mod. Fr. *ouaille* for *oueille* = OVICULA) is not in Godefroy (MS. has *aviaux*, which might have been retained); in *partié*, 252, I would see a form induced by the exigencies of the rime, and so also in *demeur* for *demeure*, 138; *embiaudonner*, which occurs twice (42, 310), each time with *cuer* as its object, and which I find nowhere recorded, looks to me like a French original of the Eng. *embolden*. It might well come from Germ. BALD, with a suffix influenced by *ordonner*, which was itself influenced by *donner*.

As to difficulties in the constitution or comprehension of the text, I am at sea in regard to verse 261:

D'un autre se puet pent farder.

Would it be possible to read *pentfarder*(?) and to understand: 'He can be weighed in the balance with another,' *i. e.*, 'He is superior to all others'? Or could *se pentfarder d'un autre* refer to hanging as a substitute on the cross?

Perhaps the most striking peculiarity of the text is the curious form *Ret*, which introduces verses 41 and 169:

Et en besant fist aourer
Ret panner des crins de sa teste.

Son esperit fit a fremir
Ret ploure con douz et benigne.

In each of these cases I believe that the conjunction *et* has been reinforced by carrying over the final *r* from the end of the preceding verse; but I have never seen the phenomenon before and should be glad if other examples could be adduced, or another explanation offered.

Il est bien temps que je m'avise,
Tant com je voy durer le jour,
Que je ne soie point reprise,
Quant venrai devant mon seignour
Pour rendre conte de m'amour,
En quel chose je l'ay assise—
Ou monde ou ou creatour,
Itant com(me) dure ma franchise.

He! mes cuers, ou est la plaisance,
La grace et li bel atour
Que je receu en ma nessance,
Ou baptoime de mon Sauvour?
Bien doubt que n'ay perdu la flour
Et la beauté de innocence.
Hey! Jhesus, par ta grant douçour,
Donne moy leu de penitence.

Hey! qu'ai je fait, lasse chaitive,
Quant je en haut regarder n'ose?
J'ay troublé la fontaine vive,
Ce lix, celle flour, celle rose,
C'est la virge tres glorieuse,
Marie, en cui tout biens arrive,
Dont descent la loy amourouse
Et flourist orisons votive.

4 seigneur. 12 sauour. 25 flour.

Lasse, seurhausse ma purtey,
Et fusse de toute part saine!
Je pense avoir ma grant seurtey
En la virge de grace pleine.
Or est qu'aour la Magdaleine:
Doy metre mon corps en durtey,
S'avoir vuis fiance certaine
De venir a bienahurtey.

Molt vous ama li Roys celeste,
Dame, bel vous vot colorer,
Quant de l'estat si deshonneste
Vous daigna si bel restorer;
Quant a ses piez vous fist plorer
Lay ou Symons li faisoit feste,
Et en besant fist aourer
Ret panner des crins de sa teste.

Amours qui les cuers embiaudonne
Vous fist plorer entre delices,
Et fist d'avoir et de personne
Faire a Dieu plaisans sacrefices.
De quant qu'aviez servi es vices,
Aussint cum l'euvangile sonne,
Jhesus devient dous et propices,
Et touz vos pechiez vous pardonne.

Li pharisees qui point n'use
Dou douz temps qui se moustre en place,
Le maistre d'ignorance accuse,
Et la disciple d'ardiace.
Lours li amanz qui vous embrace,

28 ma] sa.
30 MS. *has lines* 30-33 in the order 32, 33, 30, 31. aour] anoye.
42 Amours] Meurs.

Es cuy laz estiez ja recluse,
A Symon, veant en sa face,
Par raison vive vous excuse.

Hey, amours, qui tout desfaut trueve
Et le bel mettez en apert,
Vostre amanz maiz riens ne reprueve
En vous, quar, amours, le dessert
Tout li avez ensemble offert;
Et cui a diz et dit et evre,
Vostre cuers li est tout ouvert,
Mais riens que fine amour n'i trueve.

Quant Jhesus vient en un chastel,
Marthe a mengier l'a recehu,
Marie boit a cler ruissel
De la doctrine qu'a leü;
Vostre aise n'a Marthe pleü,
Contre vous giete son apel:
" Jhesus, que avez esleü,
Entre .ij. sentez le plus bel."

Marthe en suit la vie active,
Grant cuisantium ha trepriz,
Jhesu reçoit a son convive;
Son cuer est frains, son cuer est pris.
Jhesus dareain l'a repris:
" Quant avez la contemplative
De .ij. estat[s] avez le pris,
La flour et la prorogative."

Jhesus li maistres tient s'escole,
Jhesus declaire ses doctrines,
Jesus donne en ses paroles

63 cui] cur. 77 est] net—est] e'.
78 dareain] da'me.

Es armes plaisant medecines.
Diex, cum sunt aise ses beguines!
Mais vostre engin plus aut s'en vole,
Et tout s'enlace es loiz divines;
Don Marthe se plaint et querole.

Hey! qui porroit son cuer retraire
De ce qu'il soloit tant amer;
Pour remirer tel exemplaire
Ou il n'a mais riens que blamer,
Bien se pourroit sage clamer;
Quar cils qui vuet au monde plaire,
Ne l'en demeure que l'amer,
Et la douçour ne dure gaire.

Quant Marthe est plus angoisseuse
Pleine de labour et d'esfroy,
Marie est plus delicieuse,
En son cuer n'avra ja desroy;
Marthe ministre en bonne foy,
Vous estes d'amer li lesteuse;
Marthe vous reguarde sus soy,
Si en est .i. pou envieuse.

Dont estes vous Rachel la belle,
Cui Jacob de fin cuer amoit,
Don Lye maine grant querele,
Car trop souvent l'acompaignoit.
Jacob fait ce que faire doit,
De li son cuer point ne rapele,
Amours le mist en tel destroit,
Quant premier vit la pastourele.

Jacob sert, Jacob se debrise,
Trop est apert, trop est igniaux;

99 Plaine. 115 igneaux.

Jacob ne doubte vent ne bise,
Ou desert garde les aigniaux,
Lay maine .vij. anz ses oviaux
Et si grant terme riens ne prise,
Comme fins amanz et loiaux
Et tout jours prest a tout servise.

Amours a pris si grant puissance,
Demostre[e] en son grant esfort,
Quant a vostre grant desplaisance
Vostre frere rece(h)ut la mort;
Jhesus voit que li ladres dort,
Combien qu'il ne soit en presence;
Atant pour votre grant confort
Va relever vostre esperance.

Jhesus, qui les faiz sait porter
De ces que il tient en s'acorde,
Vers vous vient pour vous conforter
Si con l'evangile recorde.
Marthe cele mort li recorde
Pour lui a pitié enhorter
Qu'en sa douce misericorde
Vaille si grant duel supporter.

Marthe con saige s'en demeur,
Vous va nuncier ceste venue;
Tantost com oez vostre suer,
Lay n'ot nule resne tenue;
De joie si cuers se remue,
Vers lui s'en vole vostre cuer;
Vers lui adreciez vostre veue,
De duel demore par desfuer.

118 aviaux. 124 desplaisance] desplicasance.
128 Atant] Tant. 130 sait] suit. 138 demeure.
141 resne] reine. MS. *has vv.* 142, 143 *in inverted order.*

Vostre cuer a lui se presente
Et de lermes li fait presant.
La mort du ladre li guermente,
Et mostre car s'il fu[s]t present
De la mort fu[s]t du tout esent.
Li maistre la disciple tente:
Savoir vuet de li s'elle sent
Ce que la foy vuet que l'on sente.

Du mort dit qu'il relevera,
Pour vostre consolation;
Vous respondez que ce sera
A celle congregation
De la grant resurrection.
Jhesus dit que il moustrera
Plus tost sa domination,
Quar tantost le suscitera.

He! douceur tres aute et tres digne!
Que dirai je quant je remir
Si grant amour en si grant signe?
Quar quant Jhesus vous vit gemir,
Quant la coulour vous vit blemir,
Si com l'Escripture designe,
Son esperit fit a fremir
Ret ploure con douz et benigne.

Au sepulcre vient senz delay,
Et vous avec autres plusours.
Quant Jhesus vit, criait "hay! hay!"
Quant aperçoit lermes et plours,
Lours le poignent a cuer amours,
Et estre laide vien cay

161 tanstost.
175 *Perhaps:* Et dit au ladre, "Venez çay!"

Revit li mors de .iiij. jours,
Et tout vaut met[re] en esmay.

Dame! or n'est il pas merveille
Se vostre cuers est tout en feu,
Et de toute riens se despoille,
Se autre riens en lay n'a leu.
Pour miex entendre en son gieu,
Ensic com amours le conseille,
S'en Jhesus metez vostre veu
De tel loy qu'il n'est la pareille.

Des or mais vostre corps n'a cure
Se por lui soffre tout meschiez,
Car fine amour qui tout endure
Vous a si aligiez vos griez,
De la longue vous a fait briez,
Que nul temps mais riens ne vous dure;
Jhesu oignez devers le chiez
En signe de la sepulture.

He! l'alabastre, l'oignement,
Qui ont son odour respandu!
Judas fait ce faux jugement,
Qu'il ne deust estre despandu,
Ainz vausist miex qu'il fust vendu,
(Pour) faire as povres aligement;
Jhesus li a raison rendu,
Jhesus vos fait a sacrement.

Assez tost aprez ce vient l'eure
Que Jhesus dut de nous partir.
En celle heure que tout ciel ploure,

186 Des] Do *and defect in* MS.
197 despondu.
204 ciel ploure] eul plome.

Quant ce cuers dut de duel partir,
Quant mourir veistez ce martir,
Ne mais avec vos ne demoure,
Quant ses joies va departir,
A ces attendent lai dessore.

Qui lors veit vostre contenir,
Qui peust penser cele destrece?
Quant veistez vostre ami(s) fenir,
Quant veistes cele bele face,
Ou luisoit la plante de grace,
Si grant laidure sostenir,
Quant li veistes de haute tace
La tel humilitey venir.

He! mors tres dure et tres amere,
Con vos fait sont defremitous,
Pour quoy metez en tel misere
Les cuers douz et affectuous?
Seront il si presumptuoux
Qu'il n'amoient la virge mere?
Vos ruis sont si impetuoux
Qu'envers vous nul n'a refugere.

Voz dit, voz loiz, et voz coustumes
Dont mortelz en leur liens enlacent,
De vos escris, de vos volumes,
Ne roys ne contez ne se facent
Pour veoir, pour oïr qu'il en facent;
Car si legieres sont vos plumes
Que quant plus amant se solacent
Lors respondez vos amartumes.

205 dot. 210 vostre] vos.
215 sostenir] sesteint.
219 defremitous] defemnous[?]
224 ruis] ruissiaux.

A l'eure que Jhesus trespasse,
Qu'il vient a point de son termine,
De touz pechiez ensane masse,
Pour vous a Dieu le pere fine;
Les mains vers la mere decline,
S'escrie a une voiz casse:
" Mon cuer traperce vostre espine,
Leal fil, que (et) fera la lasse? "

Et que fera mais la dolente
Qui voit son fil en tel destroit?
" Onques doulour ne fut si grante
Comme cele que mon fil voit;
Certes mes cuers mourir en doit,
Si que trestout li corps le sante;
Raison est que l'arbre se choit
A cui on a copé son ante.

Cil glaives tres outrecuidié
Et de toutes loiz repreuvé,
Mon corps et m'arme as partié;
Lors as [tu] ton coup esprouvé,
Car au corps mon fil l'as trouvé,
Ou m'amour l'avoit adrecié;
Car leax cuers et aprové
Si ha son propre corps laissié.

He! Absalon, mon fil tres biaux,
Formez et fait pour regarder,
Maiz ne fut si bel jouvenciaux;
D'un autre se puet pent farder.
He! mort, que pues [tu] tant tarder?
Tu n'es ne juste ne leaux;

236 ensane] ensanc. 238 Les mains] Li mas.
242 Et] se. 245 fil] vil.

Se moy de tes cops vues garder,
Mes cuers laisse ja tes ruiseaux.

Se vous qui passez par la voie
Pour Dieu vuilliez a moy entendre,
Se tel doulour est con la moie
Bien en poez jugement rendre,
Quant mon filz voy en la croiz pendre,
Quant mon corps de soz li s'ombroie,
Quant [je] li voy le costé fendre,
Dont m'amour par[t] tout et ma joie.

He! ma joie et ma liace,
Et ma douçour, ou vous querray?
Ma bele clere douce face,
Et m'amour, mais ne vous verray,
Certes pour vostre amour morrai;
Se la mort me vuet faire grace,
Nul delai de li ne vourrai,
Nul demuer vuil qu'ele me face.

Ma joie, qu'es tu devenue?
Ma grant doulour et ma complainte,
M'amour douce, m'amour esleue,
M'amour florie, m'amour sainte,
Ma lumiere qui n'ies estainte,
Lasse, se tu ne m'es rendue,
Tu qui m'as si chierement rainte,
M'arme en mourant te salue.

He! arbre de haute valour,
Et qui tout pooir as dompté,

265 laisse] lait.
271 MS. *inverts vv.* 271, 272.
272 li] le. 272 costé] costre. 274. Se.
291 dompté] doubte.

En tes rains monstre sa chalour
Qui amour ha seur[e]monté,
Qui a respandu sa bonté;
Nul ne porte si bele flour,
La loy devant t'avoit hanté,
Ma[i]s tes fruit te met a honnour.

He! arbrez, sus touz honorez,
Riches et passans tout tresors,
Du sanc mon fil escolorez,
En toy pent son precieus corps;
En toy son arme rendi hors;
Et son corps, c'est sens demorez,
Pour tant de grant pris es doulours,
E[s]t de toutes genz adorez.

He! tres precieuse coronne,
Don son chief est environné,
Bien a amour cele personne
A grant honte abandonné;
Son cuer a si embiaudonné
Et en ses laz si sou prissone,
Qu'as ennemis ha pardonné,
Et en souffrant nul mout ne sonne.

Tout jours en mon cuer sera frai(n)che
La douçour de l'aignel tres douz,
Quant un sot lié a l'estache
Ou (touz) destrainchiez fut et derouz,
Ou tout sueffre sanz nul courouz
Ou l'en son visaige decraiche,
Et lait et ydeux devient touz
Li mirours qui estoit sanz tache.

293 seurmonte.
307 Don] Dun.
309 grant] prent.
320 devient] deniont.

Ja ne cherra du cuer Marie
Ce bevraige si tres amer
Que donna en sa felonnie
La vigne digne de blamer;
La plante, cui souloit amer,
Cui souvent apeloit s'amie,
Quant li oït sa foy clamer,
Pour plus tost terminer sa vie.

Ainsi la mere se tormente
Et la disciple d'autre part,
Li une son fil mort gremente,
L'autre son maistre qu'ele pert;
A nul fuer de li ne se part,
A garder le corps met s'entente,
Ardie est comme leupart
Qui atout glaive se presente.

Aprez Joseph d'Arimathie
Donna Jhesu la sepulture;
Marie au corps tient compaignie,
De li bien garder ha la cure,
Qu'aucuns ne puet par aventure
Au cors moustrer sa gelousie,
Fors tant que pour querir l'ointure
Du sepucre s'est departie.

Marie atout l'oignement
Tantost revient de la cité,
Le tomblel curieusement
En remirant ha visité;
Le corps trueve resuscité,
Si pert trestout contenement,

328 foy] soy.
343 Au cors moustrer] A cors moustre.

Car ele croit en verité
C'on l'ait emblé celeement.

Marie de duel se detort,
Li œil du cuer li est troublé;
Sus li est cheüe la sort
Qui sa doulour li ha doublé;
De ces deux mechiez l'a moblé,
De la tel perde et (de) la tel mort,
L'un mal a l'autre acomblé,
Si s'en doulouse sanz deport.

Je croi que nus ne porroit faindre
Le grant mechié qu'ele se tient;
Tout duel dou sien vuet estre maindre,
Quant de son maistre li souvient;
De son corps ne set qu'il devient,
Que cuidoit qu'il li dut recraindre;
Fors est li maux qu'a cuer li tient,
Si n'a confort que de soy plaindre.

Nule chose mais ne li plait,
De toute rien son cuer estrainge;
De touz plaisirs son cuer retrait,
Et tout soulas en doulour chainge;
Ne li plaist confort de nul ainge,
Leur veoir n'est de grant esploit,
Si n'a cure de leur losainge,
De leur paroles, de leur plait.

Ne vuet penser mais qu'en son maistre,
A cui ses cuers ha tant musé,
Qui doucement la souloit paistre,
La cui doctrine a tant usé;
Pour cui tout autre [a] refusé

360 a coble.

Ne nul autre ne vuet convaintre,
Son cuer de touz s'est excusé,
N'autre amour en li ne vuet naitre.

He! Jhesus, tres douz, tres pitoux,
Pour quoy de lui vous esloigniés?
Pour quoy de li vous celez voux,
Qui vous lava jadiz le[s] piez?
A cui pardevant sez pechiez
Fustes jadiz si gracieus,
Et en l'arbre qu'estoit sechiez
Plantastes fruit si precioux.

He! tres douz, tres misericors,
Arbre de tres haut refugere,
Jhesus, ja estes vous recors,
Quant li suscistastes son frere.
Pour cui estoit de cuer amere,
L'arme rendites en son corps,
Dont la feistes de joie clere,
Et tout son duel meistes hors.

Tres veritable Jhesucrist,
He! cuers devout, mais que ferunt?
Vous meistes en vostre escript
Que cil a mein vous trouverunt
Qui a vous querre veillerunt;
Se ceste avez en despit,
Vos promesses queles serunt,
Quant de vous querre n'a respit?

Ne fut elle jadiz loee,
Quant de vous fist electium?
[Dont ele fut at'tenee
Par vostre confirmatium

393 fuit.

De seüre possession
Que ja ne seroit ostee
Pour qouy dont visium
Set a vostre amant tant celee]

Quant Jhesus oït ce reclain,
Quant se voit priz a occhaisum,
Le tier jour par devers le main,
Quant d'esjoïr est la saisum,
Jhesus saut hors de sa maisum,
Et du tumbel se met a plain,
Marie le met a raison,
Cuide qu'il soit un ortolain.

Or dit elle, " mon ami chier,
Di moy, si te vient a plaisir,
Ou avez mis ce que [je] quier?
Ou doit le corps Jhesu gesir?
Acomplissez mon grant desir:
Ou quel voie est, ou quel sentier?
Tantost le me verrez saisir,
Ne quier que nul me vuielle aidier."

Dame, cum estes viguereuse,
Qui voulez porter si grant faiz;
Trop estes vous delicieuse,
De ceci vous tenés en paiz:
Tel charge ne portastes mais,
Amour vous a fait courageuse;
Fors est vostre cuer et cortois,
A cui nule rien n'est peneuse.

Lors Jhesus, la salut de l'ame,
La cui amour ne puet mentir,
Qui devant vous apeloit *fame,*

431 sentier] seurter.

Quant il vous fist a repentir,
Sa douçour vous fist a sentir(e):
"Marie," vous dit adonc, "*dame*";
Vostre cuer fist (tout) a retentir,
A monter en la haute game.

En l'aute game estiez aucie:
Quant le vousistez embracier,
De joie fustes si remplie
Que [ne] peüstes cler jugier;
Lors vous dit, "Voy, ne me touchier,
Avec mon pere ne suis mie;
A tous mes freres va nuncier
Quar je suis relevez a vie."

Dame, a vostre amant chiere,
Marie, de cuer bien apris,
Vostre oil premier vit la lumiere,
Qui d'amour estoit plus empris,
Qui a lui querre s'estoit pris;
En vehant estes la premiere,
Aprez la mere avez le priz,
Qui souliez estre la derriere.

Dame, pleine de sapience,
Qui ces granz prachours ensaigniez,
Il vous donna cele excellence
Qui vous fist plorer a ses piez,
Qui vous relaicha vos pechiez,
Et vous donna [son] indulgence;
Pour la joie que vous prachiez
Vous ont prachours en reverence.

450 autre. 452 fustes] fustus.
456 A tous mes] A mes mes.
467 grant. 468 Il] el.

Douce dame, cui tout prechours
Reguardent leur vie blamant,
Marie, a cui ont recours
Li cuers failliz, li faux amant
A cuer plus dur que nul aimant,
De ma vie vien en secours:
Mon cuer, ma vie, mon corps commant
A vos douces fines amours.

Explicit ex parte Petri Mathei Clerici

475 Reguardant.
479 ma vie vien] marine venez.
480 ma vie] marine.

THE SONGS OF THE ROMAN DE LA VIOLETTE

BY

DOUGLAS L. BUFFUM

Although references to the songs interspersed by Gerbert de Montreuil in his *Roman de la Violette* [1] frequently appear, no such general study of these songs has been published, as, for example, was made by Gaston Paris for the songs of the *Roman de la Rose* (*Guillaume de Dole*),[2] the first *roman d'aventure* in which other poems—almost invariably lyrics—are included.

It will be remembered that the *Roman de la Violette* belongs to the well known and widely circulated *cycle de la gageure;* this cycle was studied by Gaston Paris and the results of his investigations were published in the *Romania* [3] by his friend and successor, M. Bédier. In this article Paris has given about forty versions of the story, omitting such late derivatives as Weber's opera, *Euryanthe,* or Dumas' play, *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle.*[4] The cycle is so widespread in the European literatures that it extends from Greece to Norway and from England to Roumania. The greatest writers who have made use of the story are Boccaccio, in his *Decameron,* II, 9, and Shakespeare, in *Cymbeline.* The bare outline of the plot common to the various versions of the cycle is familiar: A man pledges his faith in the virtue of a woman and wagers with an acquaintance that

[1] Edited by Francisque Michel, Paris, 1834.

[2] Edited by Servois for the *Société des anciens textes français,* 1893. The article of Paris on the *Chansons* covers pp. lxxxix-cxxi.

[3] XXXII, 481-551.

[4] Cf., besides Paris' article, already mentioned, Michel's edition of the *Violette,* p. xxxv, and Servois' edition of the *Rose,* p. xvi.

the woman will remain faithful. The acquaintance becomes a rival and attempts to win the wager. Because of certain deceitful appearances the woman seems to have yielded, but finally her innocence is established. Paris finds that the variants of the story fall under three heads: first, there is good faith on the part of the seducer, but he is deceived by substitution into believing that he has really won the wager; second, the seducer is treacherous, he is unable to win the wager and falsely accuses the woman, who herself lays bare the falsity of the accusation; third, the seducer is treacherous, but his treachery is revealed by another than the woman herself. It is under the third head that the *Violette* falls.

The *Violette* was probably written between 1225 and 1230;[5] the two chief sources for the plot of the poem are the *Comte de Poitiers* and the *Roman de la Rose* (*Guillaume de Dole*); in addition the latter has suggested the idea of a flower on the body of the girl and also the insertion of songs in the text.

In an edition of the *Violette* which I hope soon to publish, I shall go into a more detailed discussion of the development of the story, but in this article I shall consider only the songs introduced by the author into his poem.

The *Roman de la Rose,* the oldest of the French *romans d'aventure* to intersperse songs in the text, was written according to Servois in 1200, a date accepted by Gaston Paris as practically exact.[6] The new style of scattering graceful lyrics through a *roman d'aventure* evidently gained great favor among the refined classes and many authors adopted it. The first of these, and one who was very successful in his use of the songs, was Gerbert de Montreuil, author of the *Violette,* and this poem follows the *Rose* more closely in the treatment of the lyrics than do later imitations such as

[5] See *Ro.* XXXII, 539 ff.

[6] See introduction to Servois' edition of the *Rose.*

Cléomadès, Méliacin, Le Châtelain de Couci, Les Tournois de Chauvenci, Le Lai d'Aristote, etc.[7] In these works, however, only strophes of *chansons courtoises* and refrains are introduced.

In the *Violette* there are in all 44 songs in about 6660[8] lines, in the *Rose* there are 48 songs given in 5641 lines. In the *Rose* songs of more than one strophe are frequent. This never occurs in the *Violette,* which, in this respect, foreshadows the tendency of the later imitators to favor brief citations. Even refrains of one line are at times found in the *Violette,* whereas the *Rose* offers no example of so brief a refrain. In both *romans* the songs are introduced irregularly; for example, the first ten songs of the *Violette* occur within a space of about two hundred lines, while in another part of the poem[9] no song appears for almost eight hundred lines. The longest citation in the *Violette* consists of twenty-five lines from an epic of the southern cycle.[10] This is the only citation which is not lyric.

In both *romans* three Provençal songs occur. In the *Rose* one is given in the original, while the other two are translated into the *langue d'oïl.* In the *Violette* two songs are given in Provençal, in the place of one of which, however, one manuscript offers a translation of another Provençal song. In the *Rose* the names of the authors of these songs are frequently given; in the *Violette,* except in the case of the single epic citation, no source is mentioned. Perhaps at the period in which the *Violette* was composed the aristocratic audiences, for which these *romans* were written, were so

[7] For a list of poems introducing these songs, see Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France,* 2e édition, Paris, 1904, p. 116; and Paris, *Rose,* p. xc.

[8] Owing to the errors in Michel's edition the exact number of lines cannot be given until the critical text is established.

[9] Lines 2348-3123.

[10] *Aliscans;* see list of songs below.

familiar with the songs cited that it seemed unnecessary to name their authors.

An enumeration of the songs in the *Violette* may be of some interest, for they enable us to see what kind of lyric verse appealed most strongly to the refined classes of the courts of Louis VIII and Louis IX, and they also afford a glimpse, from one more angle, of the ideas and manners of this medieval society.

In order to show more clearly the author's way of intermingling lyrics, I give the context of the *roman* as I mention the songs.

The impecunious, but by no means ignorant, author (we learn from the close of the poem that his name is Gyrbers de Mosteruel; that is, Gerbert de Montreuil) begins, after a brief eulogy of *savoir* over *avoir,* by promising us that we shall have a *conte biel et delitable.*[11] He goes on to say that he does not intend to tell a tale of King Arthur and the Round Table, but that nevertheless his story is *biaus et gens,* and the music is well adapted to the matter. He then names his poem the *Roman de la Violette,* a title suggested by the *Roman de la Rose,* and tells us that it contains *mainte cour-*

[11] All citations are given as far as possible from MS. fr. 1553 (formerly 7595) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This is the best of the four extant manuscripts and shows a Picard coloring, thus being nearer the original dialect of the author. For the original dialect, see Seelheim, *Die Mundart des altfrz. Veilchenromans,* Leipzig, 1903, and Buffum, *Le Roman de la Violette, A Study of the Manuscripts and the Original Dialect,* Baltimore, 1904. Of the four extant manuscripts two are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1553 (formerly 7595) and fr. 1374 (formerly 7498); one is in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, MS. fr. F. r. XIV, No. 3; and one is in the private library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. (Professor P. Meyer's statement in *Ro.* XXXIV, 89-90, that these latter manuscripts are in the Morgan collection of the New York Public Library and in the Hermitage Library of St. Petersburg should be corrected.) All quotations are made from photographs of the manuscripts.

toise chançonnete. He dedicates the poem to the Countess of Ponthieu, which enables us to arrive at the approximate date of composition.[12] The scene is laid at the court of a certain young King Louis of France, a king who loved brave knights, fair ladies and good company in general. One Easter (the proverbial connection of Spring with this early lyric poetry of the aristocratic type should be noticed), a sumptuous court is held at Pont-de-l'Arche. After dinner the King summons all his courtiers to carol. My Lady Nicole, Countess of Besançon, and sister of the Bishop of Lincoln, begins by singing this line:

> Ales bielement, que d'amer me duel (105).[13]

Then the Duchess of Burgundy takes her lover by the hand and sings:

> Ales cointement et seri, se vous m'ames (111).[14]

Next the sister of the Count of Blois sings:

> Ja ne mi marierai
> Mais loiaument l'amerai (120).

The fair-haired, light-hearted sister of the Count de Saint-Pol sings *en karolant:*

> Se j'ainc par amors, joie nen ai grant,
> Mal gre en aient mesdisant (127).

[12] See article by Gaston Paris in *Ro.* XXXII, 538.

[13] The numbering of the lines corresponds to Michel's edition; see also note 11.

[14] Michel, in his edition of the *Violette,* omits the following line before this song: *Sans felonnie et sans orguel,* which supplies the the rime for the song. In every case (except the song introduced at line 6130, and even here one of the manuscripts offers a riming line) the line immediately preceding the song rimes with the first or second line of the song.

Then the beautiful Demoiselle de Couci sings this *chanson nouvelle:*

> Seulete vois a mon ami;
> S'ai grant paor (134).

The dark-haired Alienor, Châtelaine de Nior, sings a *chansonnete:*

> Aprendes a valoir, maris,
> Ou vous m'avez perdue (141).

And then a lady of Normandy, who was supposed to be in love with the King, sings:

> Ja ne lairai pour mon mari ne die
> Que mes amis n'ait un resgart de moi (152).

After these songs the dancers take their positions three by three (two by two, according to one manuscript), and the King rises and converses with them as he passes.

The seven brief songs just cited are *chansons à carole.* The name itself is applied to one of these songs a few lines further on in the text.[15] The carol has been frequently described.[16] It was a medieval dance in which the dancers formed a circle or a chain, by joining hands, and accompanied their movements by such songs as have just been given, one dancer singing the song itself and the others joining in the chorus, which is the refrain. In the *Rose* a *vielle* seems to have been used, but it is not mentioned in the *Violette* (except in the case of the epic quotation). It will be noticed at once that these songs or refrains, by their themes of love and by their conventional contempt

[15] Line 201.

[16] Cf. Servois' edition of the *Rose,* p. xcvi; also Bédier's article, "Les fêtes de mai," in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* May, 1896, p. 155.

for marriage and for the husband, offer the characteristics of certain songs of the *poésie courtoise,* such for example as the *maieroles.* Though probably originating in the May festivals, these refrains have been so colored by the ideas of the upper classes that their popular origin can scarcely be seen.[17] Now the question of source naturally arises. The first refrain (*Ales bielement, que d'amer me duel*) was probably borrowed from some song, though I have been unable to identify it. Jeanroy[18] cites from the *Châtelaine de Saint Gilles:*

> En regardant m'ont si vair oeil
> Donez les maus dont je me deuil,

and other refrains might be cited to show the frequency of the final phrase of our refrain. The phrases *Ales bielement* and *Ales cointement* (second carol) are particularly appropriate to a song accompanying a dance and frequently occur in various forms. Jeanroy[19] cites from the *Châtelaine de Saint-Gilles:*

> Espringuiez et balez liement
> Vos qui amés par amors leaument.

The third refrain (*Je ne mi marierai,* etc.) is given in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale.[20] The song is there given, as stated by Michel,[21] with the following addition:

> Ne vous mariez mie, tenez vous ensi
> Amoris.

[17] For Bédier's modification of Gaston Paris' theory that the lyric poetry of the twelfth century originated in the dance songs accompanying the May festivals, see *RDM.*, May, 1896, *l. c.*

[18] *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France,* p. 107.

[19] *L. c.,* p. 395.

[20] Fr. 844 (earlier 7222), fol. 209, v°, col. 2, line 7.

[21] Edition of the *Violette,* p. 9.

The fourth song (*Se j'ainc par amors,* etc.) has been published by Bartsch [22] who ascribes it to Mesire Pieres de Corbie. It is the refrain of the second stanza and runs:

se j'aim par amours,
joie en ai mout grant,
mal gre en aient li mesdisant.

In his variants, given on page 388, Bartsch does not mention this version of the *Violette.* The fifth refrain (*Seulete vois a mon ami,* etc.) slightly resembles a modern couplet cited by Jeanroy,[23] which runs:

Je n'irai plus seulette à la fontaine,
J'ai trop grand peur du berger Collinet.

The *Cour de Paradis* (line 327) gives this refrain as:

Renvoisiement i vois a mon ami.

The sixth refrain (*Aprendes a valoir, maris,* etc.) is given by Bartsch [24] as the refrain to the first stanza of an anonymous romance of six stanzas. As cited by Bartsch, it runs:

aprennez a valoir, amis:
li jalous m'a perdue.

The seventh refrain, which suggests a *chanson de mal mariée* (*Ja ne lairai pour mon mari ne die,* etc.), is given anonymously by Bartsch [25] as follows:

Jai ne lairai por mon mari ne die:
li miens amins jeut a neut aveuckes moi.

Je li dis bien, ainz qu'il m'eust plevie,
c'il me batoit ne faisoit vilonie,

[22] *Rom. und Past.,* p. 279.
[23] *L. c.,* p. 200.
[24] *Rom. und Past.,* p. 38.
[25] *Rom. und Past.,* p. 21.

il seroit cous et si lou comparoit.
jai ne lairai por mon marit ne die:
li miens amins jeut a neut avecque moi.

It will be noticed that this song, as is the case with the other carols that have been identified, forms the refrain of a longer piece. In the present instance we have the old form of the rondel or triolet, which was built up around these refrains. Besides changing the content of the refrain, the author of the *Violette* has made over the second line, which contains eleven syllables in the version given by Bartsch, into ten syllables to correspond with the first line. Bartsch calls attention to the fact that the lines occur in *Renard le Nouvel*.[26] This version follows that given by Bartsch.

The identification of five of these seven *chansons à carole* and the resemblances of the others to the refrains cited by Jeanroy indicate that Gerbert de Montreuil probably did not compose any of them, but cited them either from memory, as Gaston Paris thinks was the case with the author of the *Rose*,[27] or from an earlier manuscript. Gerbert's references show that he was familiar with Old French literature, and since these lyrics do not seem to have been collected into manuscripts until later, we may conclude that the author of the *Violette* probably quoted from memory, a conclusion that would find support in his frequent alterations of the original. In the case, however, of a song cited in both the *Violette* and the *Rose*,[28] the version of the *Violette* is nearer the original than that of the *Rose*, which is one of the sources of the *Violette*. It is difficult in this case to believe that the author had no other copy of the song before him.

After the dancing just described, the King speaks with a

[26] Line 6942.

[27] See his article on the *Chansons* in Servois' edition of the *Rose*.

[28] See, below, the song by Gace Brulé ending with line 1321 of the *Violette*.

handsome vassal, Gérart de Nevers, who is to be the hero of the poem. At the request of one of the ladies, Gérart sings with *vois serie,* without mentioning the author, a stanza of eight lines, which proves to be by Gace Brulé, a typically *courtois* poet. The song is:

Quant biele dame et fine amors men prie,
Encor ferai chanchon cointe et jolie,
Ne ja ne quier k'envieus mot en die,
car onques nes amai,
ne ja nes amerai;
et ki les asime, bien sai
K'il fait que fols
K'envieus sont molt plain de felonnie (197).

Huet, in his edition of Gace Brulé,[29] gives this as the first stanza of one of the *pièces douteuses.* As edited by Huet the stanza reads:

Quant bone dame et fine Amor me prie,
Encor ferai chançon cointe et joïe;
Ne ja ne quier envios mot en die,
  Car onques nes amai
  Ne ja nes amerai,
  Et quis aime bien sai
  Qu'il fet cruel folie,
Qu'envios sont de laide vilenie.

As soon as Gérart has finished this stanza of Gace Brulé, Love, who is always on the alert, bids him sing this *chançonnete à carole:*

J'ai amours fait a mon gre
Miels en valra ma vie (203).

This carol, unlike the first seven of the *Violette,* seems to have been sung without an accompanying dance. Michel [30]

[29] P. 123 (*Société des anciens textes français,* 1902, p. 123); Huet has noted some of the variants of this version of the *Violette.*

[30] *Violette,* p. 13.

has found a somewhat similar couplet in the *Châtelaine de Saint-Gilles:*

J'ai amoretes à mon gré,
S'en sui plus joliete assez.

Raynaud and Lavoix [31] have a refrain:

J'ai une amourete a mon gré
Qui me tient jolive.

A little later Gérart again sings:

Dont n'ai-jou droit ki m'envoise,
Quant la plus biele amie ai? (236).

This couplet is given by Bartsch [32] as the refrain in the fifth and last stanza of a *romance* by Maistre Willaumes li Viniers. In his variants,[33] however, Bartsch makes no mention of this song of the *Violette.*

In the songs cited so far by the *Violette* the influence of court poetry, the poetry with the aristocratic coloring which came from the South, is very marked. In the next song the author of the *Violette* goes a step further and introduces a *son poitevin,* by which he means a song in a dialect of the *langue d'oc* (one of the manuscripts uses *son provençal* instead of *son poitevin*). The song of the *langue d'oc* which the author inserted in this place has given the copyists great trouble. The poorer of the two Parisian manuscripts [34] attempts to reproduce the southern dialect as follows:

En iqual tans que never d'ausir
Bois et pras, vergiers et flors espanausir,

[31] *Recueil de motets français des* XIIe *et* XIIIe *siècles,* Paris, 1881, vol. I, No. xxx; cf. also No. cxxxi.
[32] *Rom. und Past.,* p. 83.
[33] *Rom. und Past.,* p. 353.
[34] B. N., fr. 1374.

Et voi bien que j'ois enance sans faillir
Plus que cors n'en puet pensar, ne bouce dir,
Et sui jausie d'un riceau
Qui plus me place a ma partie (327).

The New York (Morgan) manuscript is nearest this one, as we see:

En ce doux temps que ie voy renverdir
Bois, prez, vergiers et fleurs espenir,
Et voy que joie en aise sans faillir
Par fine amours en doulx espoir duire,
Plus que en peult nul cuer ne bouche dire,
Et suis du cuer du ventre ravie
D'un doulx raissiau qui plaist a ma partie.

The better of the two Parisian manuscripts [35] has inserted a French translation of an entirely different poem. The original proves to be by Bernard de Ventadour. As given by the manuscript it runs:

Il n'est anuis ne faillemens,
Ne vilonnie, che m'est vis,
Fors d'omme ki se fait devins
D'autrui amour, ne connissans,
Envieus! que vous en avanche
De moi faire anui ne pesanche?
Chascuns se velt de son mestier garir:
Moi confondes, et vous n'en voi joïr.

The original version is given by Raynouard [36] as follows:

Non es enuegz ni falhimens
Ni vilania, so m'es vis,
Mais d'ome quan se fai devis
D'autrui amor, ni conoissens.
Enoios! e que us enansa
De m far enueg ni pesansa!

[35] B. N., fr. 1553.

[36] *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, vol. III, p. 43; cf. also Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, vol. I, p. 80.

Quasqus si deu de son mestier formir:
Me confondetz, e vos non vei jauzir.

The St. Petersburg manuscript gives only:

En cel temps que la verdure
Est ou bois et ou vergier,
Et ie oy ces oyseaulx chanter
Et de mon ami me souvient
Que ie prens a regreter.

Gauchat [37] was unable to identify the Provençal version found in the manuscripts of the *Violette* and I am unable to add anything to his results, except to point out that Mahn [38] has published a poem by Bernard de Ventadour, the first stanza of which slightly suggests the one in question. Gaston Paris in commenting on the three Provençal songs of the *Rose* (of which only one is in the original dialect) is of the opinion that these songs were little understood by the northern audiences, and that they probably represented a sort of fad. The difficulty experienced by the later copyists of the *Violette* in understanding these strophes would bear him out in this conjecture.

The next song is sung by the heroine, Oriaut, to repulse the would-be seducer, Lisiart, who has come to her castle to win the wager made with Gérart. As given in the *Violette,* the song is:

Amors mi font renvoisier et canter
Et me semont que plus jolie soie,
Et me donne talent de miels amer,
C'onkes ne fis, pour cest fol ki m'en prie;
Que j'ai ami, a nul fuer ne volroie
De son gent cors partir ne desevrer;
Ains l'amerai, que j'en sui bien amee.

[37] *Les Poésies provençales conservées par les chansonniers français;* in *Ro.* XXII, p. 364.

[38] *Gedichte der Troubadours,* vol. I, p. 74.

Laissie me ester, ne m'en proies jamais:
Sachies de voir, c'est parole gastee (445).

This is from a *chanson de mal mariée* by Moniot d'Arras; the entire poem is published by Jeanroy.[39] The author of the *Violette* has altered the inappropriate refrain of the original. As written by Moniot d'Arras it was:

Quant plus m'i bat et destraint li jalous,
tant ai je miex en amor ma pensee,

and was adapted to the typical *mal mariée*. The author of the *Violette,* however, substituted a refrain more appropriate for a woman, who, faithful to her lover, wishes to repulse the advances of the seducer. Michel[40] calls attention to a similar idea given in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion:*[41]

Vous perdés vo paine, sire Aubert;
Je n'amerai autrui que Robert.

The treacherous seducer has not been successful, but through Oriaut's duenna he learns of the violet on the girl's body, and with this information he returns triumphantly to court in order to claim Gérart's property, forfeited to him in accordance with the wager. Gérart is summoned to court, and as he comes with a retinue of a hundred young noblemen riding two by two and wearing chaplets of roses, he sings, and the young men of his suite reply in chorus:

Ensi va ki bien aimme,
Ensi va (716),

or as given by the second Parisian manuscript:

Bon jor a la bele qui mon cuer a.

[39] *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France,* p. 496.
[40] *Violette,* p. 25.
[41] Verse 83.

The fact that the longer songs were sung by one person, while the refrains were sung in chorus, suggests one reason for the preservation of the latter. These two refrains are additional examples of *chansons à carole*. In the first the adaptation of the words *ensi va* to the original movement of the dance should be noticed. Barbazan and Méon [42] give it in the *Cour de Paradis,* where it runs:

Tout ensi va qui d'amors vit et qui bien aime.

Jeanroy [43] also cites several examples of this type of carol, including this refrain from the *Violette*. The variant is found in a song by Baude de la Kakerie, given by Bartsch [44] as follows:

Boen jour ait ki mon cuer a.

Refrains of this simple type were so common [45] that it can scarcely be said that the author directly copied from any one; quite probably he quoted from memory.

Here again we see that these refrains, originating as dance-songs, were later sung without the dance, and that they constantly appear in longer poems for which they were not originally intended.

Oriaut has also been summoned to court to be present when the traitor Lisiart accuses her of infidelity. As she enters, Gérart sings:

[42] *Fabliaux et Contes*, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1808, vol. III, p. 137.

[43] *L. c.*, pp. 395-396; the reference, however, should be to p. 38, not to p. 39 of the *Violette;* see also *A. und A.*, vol. XCIV, p. 84, and Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. III, p. 375, *Chât. de Saint Gilles.*

[44] *Rom. und Past.*, p. 95.

[45] Cf. for similar refrains: song by Perrin d'Angecourt (No. 18 of G. Steffens' edition, *Romanische Bibliothek*, XVIII); *Baudouin de Condé* (Scheler's edition, Bruxelles, 1866), vol. I, p. 317; *Conte du cheval de fust* (by Gérart d'Amiens, see *ZRP.* X, 464); Raynaud et Lavoix, *Motets*, I, 67, 160; II, 101; etc., etc.

Ki ameroit tel dame a chi
Il n'aroit mie mescoisi (933).

I have been unable to find this refrain elsewhere.

After Gérart has been wrongly convinced of Oriaut's guilt, he abandons her in a wood, where she is found by the Duke of Metz, who at once falls in love with her. As the Duke carries her away to Metz he sings:

Cil qui d'amours me conselle
Que de li doie partir
Ne set pas qui me resvelle
Ne ki sont mi grief souspir.
Petit a sens et voisdie
Cil qui me velt castoier,
N'onques n'ama en sa vie;
Si fait molt niche folie
Qui s'entremet del mestier
Dont il ne se set aidier (1275).

This selection is the first stanza of the fourth song of Gace Brulé.[46] The quotation is practically word for word, and this would suggest that the author had access to a manuscript containing Gace Brulé's songs. This poet was a favorite with the author of the *Violette,* for a little further on he again cites a stanza of his, a stanza that is also cited in the *Rose.*[47] As given by the *Violette* the song is:

Par Diu! je tienc à folie
D'essaier ne d'esprouver
Ne sa femme, ne s'amie,
Tant com on le velt amer.
Si s'en doit-on bien garder
D'enquerre par jalousie
Chou c'on n'i volroit trouver (1321).

This song is given by Huet (p. 92) as the second stanza of one

[46] Huet's edition; the quotation is from the fourth, not from the fifth, stanza of Gace as stated by Huet on p. cvi, note 3.

[47] Line 3616.

of the *pièces douteuses.* It is interesting to note that the version of the *Violette* follows the original of Gace more closely than it follows the version given in the *Rose,* from which we conclude that the author did not copy the *Rose* servilely, but had first hand acquaintance with Gace's works.

Gérart, after he has abandoned Oriaut, earns a livelihood by traveling from castle to castle as a minstrel. One day he reaches his own town of Nevers and finds Lisiart in his castle. Here, when the two enemies meet, Gérart breaks off from the lyrics and sings more martial, epic lines. This citation, which affords the only instance where the source is mentioned, is from the "*Roman de Guillaume le marchis au court nes,*" a title used by the author of the *Violette* to designate *Aliscans.*[48] The passage is sung in the traditional epic manner to the accompaniment of a *vielle,* though before the meal and not afterwards, as was more usually the case. Gérart sings of the wrath of Guillaume, and the author of the *Violette* gives another example of his characterictic taste in the introduction of the various songs. As printed by Michel[49] the selection consists of twenty-five assonanced decasyllabic lines. In this selection the interesting reference to the fable of *The Bull and the Sheep* occurs.

The duenna who aided Lisiart to betray Oriaut is also in the castle. Gérart overhears a conversation between the accomplices and thus learns of Oriaut's innocence and Lisiart's treachery. Gérart at once sets out in search of his lost mistress, and here the story takes on the characteristics of the ordinary *roman d'aventure.* It will be necessary to give only enough of the plot to make clear the manner of introducing the songs. One day Gérart rescues a maiden, who promptly falls in love with her rescuer and sings to him:

[48] Lines 3036 ff.

[49] *Violette,* lines 1407-1431; the passage as given by the manuscripts of the *Violette* is defective, Michel has followed the version given by a manuscript containing the entire poem of *Aliscans,* see *Violette,* p. 74.

Tant arai bonne amour quise
C'or l'arai a ma devise (2056).

These lines are given by Bartsch [50] as the last couplet of the fourth stanza of an anonymous *romance*. The author of the *Violette* has already quoted the refrain of the first stanza of this poem.[51] As published by Bartsch the lines are:

Mes cuers a bone amor quise
tant c'or l'a a sa devise.

The future tense of the version of the *Violette* shows the author's tendency to adapt his quotations to his context. It will be remembered that in the case of the other refrain borrowed from this song the author of the *Violette* also altered the lines to fit his context.

Gérart soon sets out again in his search for Oriaut. In one of his numerous adventures he is wounded and forced to rest at the house of a certain bourgeois. The latter's daughter was at work one day on a stole and an amit of silk and gold and was embroidering many a star and many a cross. As she worked she sang this *chanson à toile:*

Siet soi biele Euriaus, seule est enclose;
Ne boit, ne ne mangue, ne ne repose;
Souvent se claimme lasse, souvent se cose
C'a son ami Renaut parler n'en ose;
Souvent s'encrie en halt:
"Ha! Dex! verrai-jou ja mon douc ami Renaut!" (2312).

The only place in which this song has been preserved seems to be the *Violette*. It is from this source that Bartsch

[50] *Rom. und Past.*, p. 39. In the *Poire*, by Messire Thibaut, of the last quarter of the thirteenth century perhaps, the song reads:

Tant ai leal amor quise
C'or le sai a ma devise, ll. 2413-14.
Messire Thibaut, etc., F. Stehlich, Halle, 1881.

[51] Lines 140-141.

obtained it for his *Romanzen und Pastourellen.*[52] According to Gaston Paris [53] there have been preserved only sixteen of these *chansons à toile* (of which there are six in the *Rose* and one in the *Violette*). They are so named because they were sung by women as they embroidered or sewed. They were popular in the twelfth and, as this selection of the *Violette* shows, in the early thirteenth centuries. Gaston Paris thinks that this "genre charmant et vite disparu" has survived in greatly reduced numbers.

The name of his mistress occurring in this song reminds Gérart that he must be on his way once more, and he sings for his comfort:

Amors, quant m'iert ceste painne achievee
Qui si me fait a grant dolour languir?
Souvent mi fait mainte dure escaufee,
Souvent rouuer [54] et maintes fois palir,
Fremir, trambler, tressuer, tressaillir.
Souventes fois m'est a joie tornee,
Et aussi tost sor le point de morir (2348).

Michel [55] sees in this song a *contre-épreuve* of the fragment of Sappho. In Huet's edition of Gace Brulé's works, [56] there is a chanson which slightly resembles this song of the *Violette* in matter and in rimes, though the latter are there reversed.

Gérart continues his search for his lost mistress and soon has another adventure in which he wins the love of one more maiden by his valorous deeds. This girl gives vent to her feelings as follows:

En non Diu, c'est la rage
Li dous maus d'amer
S'il ne m'asouage (3126).

[52] P. 18.

[53] See his article on the *Chansons* in Servois' edition of the *Rose;* also J. B. Beck, *La Musique des Troubadours,* Paris, 1910 (under *chansons à toile,* pp. 100-104).

[54] Michel, *rogir.*

[55] *Violette,* p. 116, note.

[56] P. 94.

These lines are the first two of a *motet* given by Raynaud and Lavoix;[57] it is there printed as follows:

En non Diu, Dieus, c'est la rage
Que li maus d'amer si ne m'asoage!

Similar lines may be found in an anonymous song quoted by Bartsch[58] and in one by Baudes de la Kakerie,[59] who has already furnished a refrain for the *Violette*.[60] While the girl sings of Gérart in the song just given, a friend of hers, who is also in love with Gérart, sings in reply to this song:

Vous cantes et je muir d'amer:
Ne vous est gaires de mes maus (3143).

This refrain occurs in a pastourelle published by Bartsch.[61] It forms a part of the refrain to the second stanza and there runs:

vos chantés et je muir d'amer:
ne vos est gaires de ma mort?

The advances of these girls are of little avail with Gérart, who sings a little later:

Destrois, pensis, en esmai,
Cant de bonne amor souspris,
Et faic samblant cointe et gai
La ou sui plus d'ire espris.
Ma tres douche dame ou j'ai pris
Les maus dont ja ne garrai,
Ains en trai
Les painnes com fins amis (3244).

This is the first stanza of a song by Audefrois li Bastars.

[57] *L. c.*, No. cxxxix (I, 164).
[58] *Rom. und Past.*, p. 191.
[59] *Rom. und Past.*, p. 303.
[60] Variant to the refrain at line 716.
[61] *Rom. und Past.*, p. 176.

The entire song has been published by Brakelmann.[62] A little further on Gérart again sings of the absent Oriaut:

> Je ne le voi mie chi
> Cheli dont j'atenc ma joie (3333).

I have been unable to identify this refrain; the phrase of the last line, however, is common.[63] The girl is still very much in love and a little later she sings:

> Ki set garir des maus d'amer,
> Si viegne a moi; que je me muir (3452).

These rather commonplace lines are similar to the refrain ending with line 3143 and already identified. They are similar to many of the refrains occurring in the *chansons;* compare the following given by Bartsch:[64]

> Au cuer les ai, les jolis malz:
> Coment en guariroie?[65]

Perhaps we have here a refrain composed from memory by the author of the *Violette,* or formed by utilizing the commonplace ideas of several refrains.

Soon afterwards Gérart sings before the love-sick girl the following song in honor of Oriaut, a stanza which I have been unable to identify:

> Par .j. seul baisier de cuer a loisir
> Poroit longhement mes maus adoucir;
> Mais de desirier me fera morir.
> S'encor n'en ai joie,
> Bonne est la dolours
> Dont il vient
> Et honnours et joie (3654).

[62] *A. und A.*, vol. xciv, p. 90, Marburg, 1896.
[63] Cf. Raynaud et Lavoix, *Motets*, No. LV.
[64] *Rom. und Past.*, 21.
[65] Cf. also Bartsch, *Rom. und Past.*, p. 30 and p. 79.

The girl's jealousy is aroused and she wishes to know whom Gérart so honors; he replies:

> Adeviner pores cui j'aimme,
> Par moi ne le sares-vous ja (3673).

An idea similar to one given by Jeanroy:[66]

> Ja par moi n'iert noumee
> cele cui j'ai amee.

A little later Gérart again sings of his love:

> J'atenc de li ma joie:
> Diex! arai le jou ja? (4180).

A typical refrain of the *poésie courtoise,* with which the following given by Jeanroy,[66] may be compared:

> Mais n'aurai joie en ma vie,
> dame, se de vous ne me vient.

This refrain is also similar to that already cited at lines 3332-3333.

As Gérart again sets out in search of Oriaut he sings the second (the third, if the variant of the first be counted) Provençal song of the *Violette,* which proves to be by Bernard de Ventadour. It may be found in the Provençal chrestomathies of Bartsch[67] and Appel.[68] The stanza is also given by the *Rose.*[69] Michel has substituted the version given by Raynouard[70] for that given by the manuscripts of the *Violette,* which he considers *extrêmement défiguré.* The corrupt version of the better of the two Parisian manuscripts is as follows:

> Quant voi la loete moder
> De ioi ses ele contre rai,

[66] *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France,* p. 121.
[67] Column 68. [68] P. 56. [69] Line 5197.
[70] *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours,* III, p. 68.

Qui s'oblide et laisse cader
Pour la douchour c'al cors li vai;
Dex! tant grant anuide mi fai
De li quant vi la jausion!
Mirabillas son cant fait
Anui le felon (4201).

Gaston Paris has given this stanza reconstructed from the two Parisian manuscripts of the *Violette.*[71] He does not, however, cite the variants except to call attention to the fact that in one manuscript the song is called a *son poitevin* and in the other a *son provençal.* Paris thinks that the presence of the Provençal songs in the *Rose* proves their popularity in northern France as late as the twelfth century. Their presence in the *Violette* shows that the time may be extended to 1225 or 1230. Paris is also of the opinion that these songs were brought to the North by the jongleurs in their repertory of love songs, and that the various versions of this song by Bernard, preserved in northern manuscripts, go back to a common source.[72] Of the three songs of Provençal origin in the *Violette* (one being merely a variant), two are in the Provençal dialect and one has been translated into the *langue d'oïl;* two are by Bernard de Ventadour and one is of unknown authorship. Of the three Provençal songs of the *Rose,* two are there given in the northern dialect and one in Provençal. They are by Geoffroi Rudel, Bernard de Ventadour and probably Rigaud de Barbézieux. The tendency already mentioned on the part of the author of the *Violette* to shorten the selections may be seen also in the case of the song of Bernard de Ventadour cited in both the *Rose* and the *Violette.* Two stanzas are given in the former.

Gérart again takes up his search for Oriaut and one of the deserted girls sings:

[71] Servois, *Rose,* p. cxvi.

[72] See his article on the *Chansons* in Servois' edition of the *Rose.*

Dex! li cuers me faurra ja:
Trop le desir a veoir (4352).

These lines are given by Bartsch [73] as the refrain to the first stanza of an anonymous pastourelle.

The girl sends a messenger in search of Gérart and as the messenger leaves she sings to him:

Vous qui la ires, pour Diu, dites-lui
C'a la mort m'a trait s'il n'en a merchi (4417).

This is the refrain of the third stanza of the pastourelle from which the preceding refrain was taken.[74]

As Gérart rides on in search of Oriaut, he sings a refrain which I have been unable to identify, it is:

Volentiers verroie
Cui je sui amis:
Diex m'i maint a joie! (4487).

Again he sings:

Par Diu! Amours, grief m'est a consirer
Dou douch solas et de la compaignie,
Et des biaus mos dont sot a moi plaire,
Cele ki m'ert dame, compaigne, amie,
Et quant recort sa simple cortoisie
Et son douc vis et son viaire cler,
Comment me puet li cuers el cors durer
Que ne s'en part? certes, trop est malvais (4638).

This stanza has been identified by Michel as the third of a song by the Châtelain de Couci and has been published by Michel in his edition of this poet's works.[75] The song as given above is corrupt. Michel's edition of the *Violette* gives the stanza reconstructed from both the Parisian manuscripts.

[73] *Rom. und Past.*, p. 134; see also *A. und A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[74] See Bartsch, *Rom. und Past.*, p. 135.

[75] P. 79; see also Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français*, p. 104.

Gérart, intent on his search for Oriaut, unintentionally makes another conquest in the course of his wanderings, but he is soon on his way again and this time the girl sings as he leaves:

Lasse! comment porrai durer?
Or ne sai mais que devenir
Quant cil que je voloie amer
Ne m'a daigne ne velt oïr,
Si ne me puis recomforter,
Ains m'estuet le mal endurer
Ki me destraint et lasse et fait fremir;
Ne de nule autre amour ne quier joïr (5065).

Michel has pointed out the resemblance of the first line of this stanza to the following from *Renart le Nouvel:*

Diex! comment porroie sans celui durer,
Qui me tient en joie?[76]

Gérart hears the song, but he is so little affected that he sings of Oriaut:

Or aroie amouretes
Se voloie demourer (5076).

Though I have been unable to find the source of this refrain, refrains so ending are not rare. The rime is furnished by the lines of the preceding stanza.[77]

Towards the end of the *Violette,*[78] after Gérart's search

[76] *Violette,* p. 236.

[77] Cf. Bartsch, *Rom. und Past.,* p. 43.

[78] At line 5106 the poorer Parisian manuscript (B. N., fr. 1374) substitutes for twelve (not thirteen as stated by Michel) lines of the better manuscript twenty-two lines which include this commonplace refrain: *Sains cors Deu! quant averai celi cui j'aim?* Though both the St. Petersburg and the New York manuscripts follow this reading, the passage is poorer than the version given by the best manuscript and was probably a later interpolation.

has been successful and the lovers are once more together, Oriaut sings:

J'ai recouvree ma ioie par bien amer (5708),

and Gérart replies:

Nus ne doit amie avoir
N'amer par droit, ki miex n'en doie valoir (5721).

Waitz,[79] gives a song of Gillebert de Berneville, which contains the idea of the latter of these refrains. It is:

Por valoir
Doit avoir
Chascuns bone amor
Sans movoir.

Again Gérart sings to Oriaut a song that proves to be the first stanza of a song by Gace Brulé:[80]

Ne mi sont pas ochoison de canter
Pres ne vergies, plaseis ne buisson:
Quant ma dame mi plaist a commander,
N'i puis trouver plus loial ochoison;
Et molt m'est bon que sa valour retraie,
Sa grant biaute et sa coulour vraie,
Dont Dex li volt si grant plente donner
Que les autres m'en couvient oublier (5798).

Then follow three songs that have not been identified. Gérart sings to Oriaut:

J'en sai .ij., li uns en sui,
Cui Amors ont fait grant anui (6127),[81]

[79] In *Festgabe für G. Gröber*, No. 4.

[80] Huet's edition, p. 45.

[81] Tarbé, *Chansonniers de Champagne*, quotes a *jeu parti* of about 1220 from Bertrand Cordielle, in which the last two lines of the fourth stanza are:

Soffrir atrait amors, certains en sui;
Et orguels fait à mainte gens anui.

and Oriaut replies:

> Bones sont amors dont on trait mal (6130).

The latter is given only in the poorer of the two Parisian manuscripts.

The final song of the *Violette* is given after the marriage of Gérart and Oriaut. Gérart sings to Oriaut:

> Qui bien aimme ne se doit esmaier
> Pour grevanche c'Amors sache envoier;
> Que a chelui donne double loier
> Ki pour lui trait plus de painne et essaie;
> Ne sans amour n'a nus joie vraie (6622).

In conclusion, the *Roman de la Violette,* one of the best known *romans d'aventure,* is, just as the *Roman de la Rose,* thoroughly imbued with the aristocratic spirit and may be regarded as representing in part the literature of the higher classes of French society when medieval civilization was at its height. The songs introduced were therefore of the style that would appeal to such a society, and they illustrate the kind of lyric literature prevailing at the courts of Louis VIII and Louis IX.

Of the forty-four songs found in the *Violette,* the majority (twenty-eight) consist of refrains usually given as *chansons à carole,* with or without the accompanying dance. These refrains of from one to three lines are generally considered to be the *débris* of older dance-songs. They have, however, been strongly colored by the aristocratic or court spirit that came from the South, and, besides, the refrains of the *Violette* are probably only twelfth or thirteenth century court imitations of earlier refrains. The first seven carols are sung in April at Easter, and mention is also made of the garlands worn by the men as they go singing another song. There may be here a connection with the earlier May festivals, for which the earliest lyrics seem to have been composed and sung, and which are regarded by Gaston Paris as a survival

of an old pagan custom. In the *Violette,* however, the popular character has disappeared.

Most of these brief refrains have been identified, and we have seen them figuring as refrains in what Bartsch called *romances,* which was a blanket term used by him to include *chansons à toile, chansons de mal mariée, débats,* etc.; or they appear as refrains in the *pastourelles.* In certain cases the author of the *Violette* exactly followed the original, in others he adapted the original to the requirements of his context, in a few instances he may have blended several refrains into one or composed one refrain out of several from his memory. In the case of the refrains that have been identified, the author of the *Violette* may not, of course, have copied the version that I have found. Both writers may have copied an earlier model. In one instance we find the author quoting a stanza, but with the substitution of a different refrain. The refrain was thus felt to be something distinct from the stanza, and doubtless many of the refrains given by Bartsch were never composed for the songs in which they occur. The number of refrains in the *Violette* and the *Rose* is almost the same, but neither offers an example of the rondel, the older form of the triolet, which was built up from just such refrains. There is, however, in the *Violette* an instance of a refrain which occurs in Bartsch as the refrain of a rondel.[82]

Of the twenty-eight refrains of the *Violette,* twelve have been identified, resemblances of eleven to refrains occurring elsewhere have been pointed out, and five have not been found.

Of the sixteen songs which are not refrains, but consist of a number of lines, four are by Gace Brulé, one each by Moniot d'Arras, the Châtelain de Couci and Audefrois li Bastars, two from the Provençal poet Bernard de Ventadour, one is an anonymous *chanson de toile* occurring only in the

[82] *Violette,* lines 151-152.

Violette, one is from an epic of the southern cycle, *Aliscans*, and five have not been found (except for minor resemblances).

These longer lyrics, as well as the refrains, are in the *courtois* style. The conventional idea of the *mal mariée*, the idea that love is incompatible with marriage, that the husband is the arch-enemy, represent a phase of the Provençal influence, but by no means represent ideas common to all. If society as a whole had believed in these ideas, the logical result, as Gaston Paris suggests, would have been the abolition of marriage.

Lastly, the *Violette* is the second *roman d'aventure* to introduce these songs, and by his method the author should be placed between the author of the *Rose*, who never brings in a refrain of one line, and the later imitators, who scarcely use anything but these brief refrains. The *Violette*, by never citing more than one stanza of the longer songs, also illustrates this tendency to reduce the length of the quotations. In never mentioning the source from which the songs were drawn (the epic passage is of course excepted), the *Violette* conforms to the later fashion. On the other hand, in the choice of his quotations and in the manner of introducing them (in addition to the title of his work and the motif of the flower) the author of the *Violette* closely follows the *Rose*, but shows superior taste in adapting his songs to the context.

A CLASSIC FRENCH TRAGEDY BASED ON AN ANECDOTE TOLD OF CHARLES THE BOLD

BY

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

The fact that Corneille and Racine drew their tragic material largely from ancient sources has given rise to a belief, current in America, if not elsewhere, that modern subjects were never allowed by authors of French classic plays. "The subjects of French tragedy," a prominent American scholar [1] has recently stated, "were, in the seventeenth century, taken exclusively from the Bible (Old Testament) history or from Greek and Roman history and legend." If the *Cid* and *Bajazet* should be cited to prove this statement erroneous, the reply might be made that the former was written before the classic manner became thoroughly established and was at first called a tragi-comedy, not a tragedy, while the choice of the latter subject made necessary Racine's explanation that the "éloignement des pays répare en quelque sorte la trop grande proximité des temps." [2]

But the *Cid* and *Bajazet* are by no means the only classic tragedies with modern subjects, nor are Turkish and Spanish history alone utilized. England, for example, furnished subjects from the lives of Edward III, Thomas More, Lady Jane Grey, and especially Mary Queen of Scots and the Earl of Essex. National tragedies were written concerning Anne of Brittany and Joan of Arc. These plays and others that could be mentioned show that the modern subject, though less

[1] T. F. Crane in his introduction to Chatfield-Taylor's *Molière*, p. XIX.

[2] *Bajazet*, second preface.

popular than the ancient, was freely admitted throughout the classic period.

It ought not to surprise us, therefore, to find among such plays *Le Jugement equitable de Charles le Hardy dernier duc de Bourgoigne,*[3] a tragedy published by Antoine Mareschal in 1646, concerning events supposed to have happened almost on French soil less than two centuries before. A study of this work shows how modern history was treated by classic dramatists and gives an opportunity to compare seventeenth century with sixteenth century handling of the same material, for the story had already given rise to a Latin *Philanira* (1556), turned by the author, Claude Rouillet, into French as *Philanire, femme d' Hypolite* (1571).

The plot of these plays is derived from an historical incident, which occurred many years after Charles's death and of which he was subsequently made the hero. It is concisely told in the argument to *Philanira* and its French translation:

" Quelques années sont passées, depuis qu'une Dame de Piemont impetra du Preuost du lieu, que son mari lors prisonnier pour quelque concussion, et desia prest a receuoir iugement de mort, luy seroit rendu, moyennant une nuit qu'elle luy presteroit. Ce fait, son mari le iour suiuant luy est rendu, mais ia executé de mort. Elle esplorée de l' une et l'autre iniure, a son recours au gouuerneur, qui pour luy garantir son honneur, contraint ledit Preuost a l'espouser, puis le fait decapiter: et la Dame ce pendant demeure despourueue de ses deux maris." In the play this " gouuerneur " is called the " Vice Roy " of the French king, a clear reference to the Maréchal de Brissac, who governed Piedmont for Henry II from 1550 to 1559 and who is named by Belleforest as the hero of this tale.[4]

Another version is given in a certain *Histoire d'Italie,* cited

[3] Paris, Toussainct Quinet.

[4] Belleforest's version is found in the *Sixiesme Tome des Histoires tragiques,* Paris, 1582, pp. 171-191; also, incompletely, in Golart, *Thrésor d'Histoires admirables et mémorables,* Geneva, 1620, I, 304-5.

by Goulart,[5] in which 1547 is mentioned as the date of the event; the Duke of Ferrara is the hero; a Spanish captain, the villain; a citizen of Como, the husband. Pierre Matthieu[6] changes the Duke of Ferrara to "Don Ferdinand de Gonzague, lieutenant général de l'Empereur Charles V." John Cooke[7] follows Goulart more closely, adding the names of the Duke of Ferrara, the Spanish captain, and his victim. A similar story, in which the woman is the sister of the murdered man and the avenging ruler is the Emperor Maximian, was published in 1565 by Giovanbattista Giraldi Cinthio,[8] and became the source of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* through the version given by Whetstone in *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) and *Heptameron* (1582).[9] We shall see presently that Charles the Bold was made the hero of the story by Pontus Heuterus (1584) and others. Lupton[10] gives a vague account, in which the hero is a judge. John Reynolds[11] tells the story of Gustavus Adolphus. Pomfret in 1699 made Colonel Kirke the villain of an incomplete version, to which more modern parallels are not wanting.[12]

Now, in the absence of contemporary evidence to the contrary, we have no right to suppose that so complex a story as this arose independently at various periods and in various localities.[13] The versions must have had some common source,

[5] *Ibid.*, Paris, 1601, I, 2nd part, pp. 59-60.

[6] In a note to his *Histoire de Louis Onze*, 1610, p. 292.

[7] *Vindication of the professors and profession of the laws*, 1646, p. 61. For this and other references, cf. Douce, *Illustrations*, London, 1807, I, 152-60 and II, 274.

[8] *Hecatommithi*, Mondovi, 1565, VIII, 5.

[9] Cf. *Shakespeare's Library*, London, 1875, III, 155 *sq.*

[10] *Siqvila. Too good to be true*, London, 1580.

[11] *God's Revenge against Adultery*, added in 1679 to the sixth edition of Reynold's *Triumph of God's Revenge against Murder.*

[12] *Cruelty and Lust* in *English Poets*, London, 1810. Cf. Macaulay, *History of England*, I, 577-78.

[13] Similar stories of independent origin are incomplete. St. Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, I, 50, tells of a poor man's

whose nature will best be determined by consulting the narratives of men who wrote shortly after the occurrence of the events described. Of the early narrators, Lupton failed to locate or date his version; Giraldi and Heuterus were not contemporaries of the persons they wrote about. There remain Rouillet, Belleforest, and, as representing an earlier *Histoire d'Italie,* Goulart, Matthieu, and Cooke. These five versions place the scene of the tragedy in Northern Italy [14] and connect it with the wars between France and Spain which took place about the middle of the sixteenth century. They differ regarding the exact date and the names of the persons involved.

As Rouillet and Belleforest are describing recent events, it is probable that they are correct in making Brissac the hero of the incident, which must in that case have occurred between 1550 and 1555, the dates of Brissac's appointment as Governor of Piedmont and of the publication of Rouillet's Latin play. The latter's contemporary testimony is hard to overthrow, but it is possible that the event may have involved Hercule d'Este or Ferdinand de Gonzague rather than Brissac and that the story, coming to Rouillet through French sources, may thus have acquired as hero the French king's representative in Italy.

Concluding, then, that the story originated from events that occurred in Northern Italy towards 1550 much as Rouillet relates them, we must now determine how Charles the Bold was substituted for Brissac or Hercule d'Este as the hero of the tale. Barante accepts Charles's connection with the

wife, who, to save her husband, sold herself to a rich man for a sack of gold and received a sack of earth in payment. There, too, the ruler intervened, but the husband was not put to death and, of course, there was no idea of the murderer's marriage to the widow and his subsequent execution.

[14] Giraldi's version helps to confirm the location of the story in Northern Italy, where the writer lived and composed the *Hecatommithi.*

story as true, but J. F. Kirke rejects it because of parallel accounts referring to other rulers and the silence of contemporary authors, such as Comines and Chastellain, with regard to it.[15] The first author who connects Charles with the story is Pontus Heuterus[16] in 1584, who follows Rouillet's account with some changes of detail, new characters, and location in the Netherlands about the year 1469.

But two stories of a somewhat similar nature had already been told of Charles by writers of the Low Countries. Renier Snoy or Snoius,[17] who lived from 1467 to 1537 and consequently wrote not long after Charles's death, states that, about 1469, just after the capture of Liège, Charles came to Zeeland and heard the complaint of a woman whose daughter had been ravished by a "consul praedives." He ordered the culprit to marry the girl or give her half his possessions and, when he refused, had him put to death, although before the execution the man offered to obey Charles's first command. Jacques Meyer,[18] who died in 1552, tells of events that occurred at the same period of Charles's life, with the scene in Holland instead of Zeeland. One of his officers tortured a citizen of Liège and ravished his wife when she came to beg for her husband's liberty. Charles had him put to death as in the Italian story, but there is no mention of marriage between the widow and the murderer.

I cannot vouch for the historical accuracy of either of these accounts. As their authors lived shortly after Charles, and as the stories are neither improbable nor too remarkable to have been overlooked by earlier historians, it seems likely that

[15] Barante, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1837, II, p. 65 sq.; Kirke, *History of Charles the Bold*, London, 1864, I, 516.

[16] *Rerum Burgundicarum libri sex*, V, 393-398 (Edition of 1639). As he states that his story comes "e manuscripto libello," it is probable that Rouillet is not his immediate source.

[17] *De rebus batavicis*, XI, 159, first published as the second part of *Rerum Belgicarum Annales*, Frankfort, 1620.

[18] *Commentarii sive annales rerum Flandricarum*, Antwerp, 1561.

they are true. At any rate they appear to furnish Heuterus with the time and place of his narrative, Holland or Zeeland towards 1469, just after the capture of Liège. While they do not contain the most important element of Rouillet's story, the marriage of the widow to her husband's murderer, they have enough in common with it to suggest the introduction of Charles as the hero of the Italian tale. This, I take it, is the correct explanation: the story that is told us first by Rouillet was adapted to Charles the Bold by the influence of Snoy and Meyer. Whether the fusion was made by Heuterus, or by the author of the manuscript he mentions, remains unknown. It is Heuterus who put the complete story into general circulation.[19]

Heuterus was followed by Lipsius in 1605, and he by Pierre Mathieu in 1610.[20] Mareschal probably derives his version from the latter rather than directly from Heuterus or Lipsius, for there seems to be a case of verbal imitation, in spite of the fact that Mathieu uses little dialogue and Mareschal writes in verse. "Rendez moy à moy et ie vous rendray vostre mary; *il est mon prisonier et ie suis le vostre,* il est en vostre

[19] Douce suggests that the story of Olivier le Dain's death may have given rise to Charles's connection with this narrative and refers to *Comines,* edition of Godefroy, Brussels, 1723. But the story there related is taken, not from Comines, but from Boistel's *Tragiques accidens,* Paris, 1616, and it is incomplete, leaving out the essential incident of the widow's marriage.

[20] *Op. cit.,* VII, 290-292. A similar story is told by Goulart, *op. cit.,* III, 373-374 (Edition of 1628), in which Charles forced a noble to marry a girl he had raped and then put him to death. The date is uncertain, for Goulart gives as his sources "George Luterberg au 2 livre des Magistrats" and "Spangenberg en son traicté du droit usage de la chasse." I have been unable to find out anything about the first of these; if the second reference is to Cyriaque Spangenberg, *Der Jagdteuffel,* Eisleben, 1560, the version is older than Heuterus and may have had some influence upon him. I imagine, however, that it is a later version of our story, adapted to the needs of writers on hunting legislation.

puissance de nous mettre tous deux en liberté." [21] Mareschal writes in his opening scene:

> "*Il est mon criminel et moy ie suis le vostre.*
> Conseruez le par moy, conseruez moy par luy."

In England, Lipsius's version is followed by Wanley and Burton [22] while Heuterus, through the narrative in Bayle's dictionary, inspired Steele to write article 491 of the *Spectator*.

We see, then, how this North Italian incident, dramatized by Rouillet and recounted by others, was fused with Dutch anecdotes of Charles in the version of Heuterus and thus, through Lipsius and Mathieu, gave rise to Mareschal's tragedy. But the two plays, thus connected historically, differ widely in the treatment of the material.

Rouillet's play [23] begins with Philanire's expression of grief at her husband's imprisonment. Advised by her maids, she appeals to the prévôt, Seuere, who falls in love with her and makes her the proposition mentioned. After renewed lamentations she is moved by the love of her children to consent to the loss of her honor, but she is rewarded in the morning by the jests of Seuere and the sight of her husband's corpse.

> "Voyla celuy que demandez si fort
> Voiez vous pas de quel sommeil il dort
> Tout estendu?"

In the fourth act the widow demands vengeance of the French king's viceroy, newly come into Piedmont. The children, who accompany her, complain of their black garments and are reproved by their mother for not rather mourning for

[21] Mathieu, *loc. cit.*

[22] Cf. Douce, *loc. cit.*, who refers to Wanley, *Wonders of the little world*, III, 29, and Burton, *Unparalleled Varieties*, 42.

[23] As Rouillet's French play is a close translation of his Latin tragedy, the two works will be discussed as one.

their father. The viceroy, shocked at her story, summons Seuere and, finding that there is no doubt of his guilt, orders him to espouse the widow. After some slight hesitation, both Philanire and Seuere consent "de bien bon cœur" and the wedding is ordered to take place at once. In the fifth act we are told by a messenger that the morning after the marriage the viceroy had Seuere put to death, whereupon Philanire enters, lamenting the loss of the two husbands, apparently equally dear. She leaves the stage meditating suicide, which the messenger hopes to prevent.

This analysis shows how incapable Rouillet is of changing his plot except in details, how he fails to see that the last two acts destroy the effect of the first three by showing the insincerity of Philanire's grief, how his interest in the bizarre stultifies his tragic appeal, while he is not a good enough story teller to avoid impeding his action by interminable speeches introduced to show the pathos of a situation. The usual defects of the sixteenth century are evident: turgid rhetoric, artificial imagery from the classics, excessive use of monologues, the banal chorus, prophetic dream, messenger, confidants. On the other hand these defects are less evident than in many contemporary pieces. There is real feeling in the first three acts, where the appeal is purely emotional and the situation suggests *Andromaque*. The introduction of the children and the brutal language of Seuere and the executioner lend an unusual realism. Compared with other sixteenth century plays, there is a considerable amount of action, if less than M. Faguet would have us believe.[24] The author has not felt bound by the unities, for not only are there several places represented and more than two nights, but the story is acted almost from the beginning, contrary to the usage of his contemporaries. In short, by his neglect of certain artistic standards, the crudity of his language, the

[24] Cf. his criticism of this play in the *Tragédie française au XVI. siècle*, pp. 369-373.

naiveté with which he follows his source, Rouillet shows that he has preserved certain characteristics of the medieval mysteries in spite of his imitation of Seneca and his Greek predecessors.

Mareschal is allowed by his seventeenth century idea of imitation to treat history with greater freedom. His regard for the *bienséances* and his inartistic desire to reward virtue make him provide the heroine, Matilde, with a third husband and prevent her being dishonored by the second. He seeks to bring his persons into conflict with each other and, as far as possible, to unite the whole play by a central struggle in the soul of the leading character. As his conception of the heroine prevents his allowing her the hesitation necessary to a moral combat, she yields the center of the stage to Charles, who is introduced in the second act and has the play named after him. To make his problem more difficult, the guilty man becomes his son and a new character is introduced to plead for the latter's pardon.

The exposition of the play is excellent. No time is wasted on the discussion of previous events; the chief scenes pass between persons vitally concerned in what is taking place. Rodolphe, Governor of Maastricht, sends his subordinates, Frederic and Ferdinand, to obtain a confession of guilt from Albert, while he remains with Matilde, the latter's wife, and seeks to convince her that her husband has sought to betray the city to the French king. When she tries to defend him, Rodolfe shows her that she has no proof of his innocence and tells her the only way in which she can save his life. Matilde rejects his proposition with indignation. Both Albert and herself will die rather than sacrifice her honor. Rodolfe shows her into the next room for a last interview with her husband.

This exit makes possible a thoroughly dramatic situation, for Ferdinand, returning from an interview with Albert, comes to speak to Dionée, Matilde's suivante, of Albert's innocence and his own love for Matilde. He is surprised not to find the latter in the room where he had left her pleading for her

husband. Told that she is in the next room with Albert, Ferdinand replies that he has just left the latter in prison.

> "Albert n'est point sorti; que mon cœur est blessé!
> Et Frederic luy-méme avec luy m'a laissé.
> Ah! ce rapport est faux; il m'instruit, et me trouble,
> Dionée, on nous trompe; et ma crainte redouble.
> On vient: forçons la chambre; allons; suy ma fureur."

The audience, led to believe that Matilde had gone to see her husband, suffers the same horrible suspense as Ferdinand and is not relieved by the following scene, in which Rodolfe is upbraided by his mother, Fredegonde, for his treatment of Matilde, and is threatened with the approaching arrival of Charles the Bold. We learn from Frederic, however, that Charles is coming because he is afraid that Albert's treachery may endanger Rodolfe and we also learn the truth about the latter's interview with Matilde. He tells Frederic that his purpose has been thwarted by Matilde's fainting and the entrance of her mother. The women believe, however, that he has been successful and Matilde is now engaged in rousing the town against her supposed assailant. Frederic, acting here as elsewhere the part of Iago or Narcisse, seizes the occasion to persuade Rodolfe to have Albert executed in order that the death of her husband, rather than the loss of her honor, may seem to be the cause of Matilde's lament.

In the first scene of the second act we learn that Albert is innocent and that the letter, supposedly sent by him to Louis XI, was a forgery. The main struggle of the play now begins, when Matilde enters with Charles, urging him eloquently to forget his love for Rodolfe and remember only his duty to the oppressed.

> "Vos Etats, sa valeur, sa faveur, vostre foy,
> Tout parle enfin pour luy; le Ciel parle pour moy."

Charles debates, with *préciosité* to our thinking, probably not to that of the seventeenth century. He has put Rodolfe's welfare before the interests of state that held him at Liège,

only to find him accused of a crime. Rodolfe tries to explain that Matilde fainted because of the news of her husband's execution, an event that is in reality now made known to her for the first time, as she plainly shows by the execrations she hurls at Rodolfe. Charles is shocked by the unjust and foolish haste of this execution, which prevents the discovery of possible accomplices. Rodolfe's attempted explanations only succeed in convincing Charles of his guilt and bringing about his arrest. A concluding tirade develops Charles's victory over his love for Rodolfe.

But this struggle is renewed in the third act by the pleading of Fredegonde and Matilde. Charles, apparently unable to decide between them, declares that Rodolfe must immediately marry Matilde and bestow his possessions upon her. Neither Matilde's horror at this proposition nor Ferdinand's arguments turn Charles from his decision. Rodolfe is highly pleased. The ceremony is to be followed by a "tragédie" in which he and an unknown person are to take part. This anachronism, by which the court amusements of the seventeenth century are put back into the fifteenth, may be pardoned by virtue of the dramatic interest it adds to the dénouement, which is now eagerly expected.

The fourth act tells us that one of Rodolfe's hirelings has committed suicide after confessing the whole plot against Albert and Matilde, that the latter's marriage to Rodolfe has been celebrated, that the play is being performed. The action is behind the scenes in accordance with classic usage. The recital is made by Dionée to Ferdinand, Matilde's lover.

"On ouure le Theâtre
On void sur le deuant un grand tapis s'abbattre;
De flambeaux esclairans les deux cotez bordez;
Deux hommes au milieu; dont l'un, les yeux bandez,
Teste nuë, à genoux, le col sous une lâme,
Alloit dans un moment rendre le sang et l'ame:
L'autre pour un tel coup tirant le coutelas
N'attend que le sinal, que Charles ne fait pas."[25]

[25] IV, 3.

She adds that Charles has left the hall without giving the signal that will decide Rodolfe's fate.

As in *Horace,* the recital of an important event, taking place behind the scenes, is made dramatic by its division among several persons, arranged so as to form a climax according to the amount of interest they have in the result. After Dionée's discourse, Matilde comes to tell us that the decision is suspended while Fredegonde pleads for Rodolfe. Then the fifth act begins with the entrance of Fredegonde and Charles. Despite her plea, he sends an attendant to order the execution, whereupon she tells him that Rodolfe is his son by her sister and proves her statement by two notes left by the mother at her death. She has brought up Rodolfe as her own son. Charles is convinced, but decides not to alter his decision. Even Matilde now ceases to demand that Rodolfe be put to death, but Charles assures her that only so can justice be done. His victory over his emotions is considerably elaborated. Finally a captain brings the news of the execution. As Rodolfe swore before his death that he had not succeeded in his attempt to ravish Matilde, there seems nothing to prevent her marriage to Ferdinand. Left alone, Charles, still the central figure of the play, laments the necessity that had forced him to this sentence:

> "O justice! ô destin! que vostre ordre est seuere!
> Perdre un Fils! vos decrets me porter a ce poinct!
> Ciel! ie l'ay fait; j'en pleure, et ne m'en repens point."

This analysis shows how a classic dramatist handled a subject from what he considered modern history. The theme is one that appeals to a romanticist: love, murder, and retribution, a wife called upon to sacrifice her honor to save her husband's life, a professional villain who makes another of his master, the illegitimate son of a prince, recognized when the latter is about to put him to death; all in the late fifteenth century at the court of the last of the Dukes of Burgundy. But Mareschal is not turned from the classic principles of his

time. Like Corneille he chooses a complex and unusual subject and alters it to suit himself, selects an Auguste for his protagonist, seeks to rouse admiration rather than pity. His characters debate with themselves and with one another, adorning their discourse with rhetorical periods, sententious lines, and subtle antitheses.

He is classic in the rapidity of the action and the preservation of the unities. By keeping Albert off the stage [26] and crowding into one act the events that preceded Charles's arrival, the author brings us quickly to the principal theme of the play, the justice of the Duke. There is a slight violation of the unity of action in the unnecessary sub-plot concerned wth Ferdinand's love for Matilde. The fact that Rodolfe turns out to be Charles's son has no effect upon the action and consequently does not act as a *deus ex machinâ;* it helps to bring out clearly Charles's love of justice. The compression of the events into a single day suits Charles's impetuosity. The single place has the advantages and disadvantages of similar arrangements in other classic plays. The scene of the play within the play, the sentence suspended while the prisoner waits with his head on the block, would have tempted a romantic dramatist, but Mareschal leaves it in the wings, and shows us instead the effect of the impending execution upon Matilde, Fredegonde, and Charles.

His treatment of local color and character is as fully classic. His people, indeed, unlike Rouillet's, bear names appropriate to the time and place in which they lived, Matilde, Ferdinand, Frederic, Leopold, etc. Mention is made of Louis XI, of the siege of Liège, of Maastricht. We see a feudal system in operation with the power of life and death in the hands, first of Charles, then of his subordinate. There is talk of war and tents. But there is little concrete and detailed local color except, perhaps, in the description of the "tra-

[26] For a different treatment of a similar subject, cf. Maeterlinck's *Monna Vanna.*

gédie," which is clearly anachronistic. Mareschal seeks only the general characteristics of the times and is more interested in the ideas and sentiments of his characters than in their physical surroundings.

His men and women illustrate general types. Matilde is brave, virtuous, vindictive, and cold; she shows as little hesitation in sacrificing her husband's life to her own virtue as she does in demanding the death of his murderer. Frederic is an accomplished villain, who arranges Rodolfe's crimes in their smallest details and inspires him with courage for their execution. Rodolfe is the weak criminal, ruled by his passions and the suggestions of his intimates, without resources when left alone and without remorse until he is about to die. Ferdinand, the self-sacrificing lover, serves to comfort the heroine at the end of the play, as he had helped to keep the audience informed of various happenings during its progress.

But we are mainly interested in Charles, the only historical person of the tragedy. It seems to me that Mareschal has succeeded in making an accurate picture of his hero, apart from his giving him an illegitimate son. Charles was noted for his continence, although he had been a reluctant bridegroom, and is said to have lived "plus chastement que communément les princes ne font." [27] The picture, too, is incomplete, for Mareschal does not show Charles taking vengeance on Liège, contending with Louis, or attacking the Swiss. We think of him as the rash, obstinate, and bloodthirsty fighter because we remember him chiefly from these incidents, but there was another side to him, historically well attested, which we are apt to forget and which Mareschal has well described.

Charles "aimoit fort ses serviteurs," "aimoit honneur et craignoit Dieu." [28] Comines [29] says that he was open to every appeal. He was rigorously just in his judgments, suppressed

[27] Chastellain, *Panthéon littéraire*, p. 509; Kirk, *op. cit.*, I, 113.
[28] Chastellain, *loc. cit.* [29] II, 66.

crime with vigor, and made no exception of the nobility. He was "sage et descret de son parler, orné et compassé en ses raisons . . . parloit de grand sens . . . dur en opinion, mais preud'homme et juste, en conseil estoit agu, subtil." [30] According to Mareschal, Charles is an excellent judge, who hears Matilde's appeal and goes quickly to business, is not deceived by Rodolfe's efforts to clear himself, realizes the state's need of discovering a criminal's accomplices. He is a keen investigator and knows when to be silent. He does not allow his love for Rodolfe to prevail over his sense of justice, basing his judgment on the need of example and reparation and, perhaps, influenced by Matilde's appeal to his religious ideas. Mareschal also shows Charles's impetuosity by his hurrying away from the siege of Liège to arrive almost unannounced at Maastricht and by the speed with which he proceeds to the trial and the execution of the sentence. He brings out his possession of absolute power, his thorough acceptance of feudalism, his desire for fame.[31] Finally there is a certain hardness, a thorough self-confidence, a reserve, a melancholy about Charles that are admirably brought out in the play. On the whole, the portrayal is a fine example of historical characterization as conceived by a classical dramatist.

From the foregoing considerations it is clear that the modernity of the subject has little effect upon the classic manner. For his chief appeal the writer depends on the admiration roused by a noble action rather than on the pity caused by suffering. History is followed only far enough to make the audience accept the narrative as plausible. The characterization is general; in the case of Charles, largely historical. The local color is that which Corneille put into his Roman plays, a few names and facts known to all, with few concrete details to rouse the imagination or distract the attention from the psychological study. The unities are preserved. Important

[30] Kirk, *op. cit.*, I, 462.
[31] III, 2; V, 3.

events take place behind the scenes, while their effect upon the minds of the characters is carefully shown. A classic dramatist does not become a romanticist by the choice of a modern subject. The two conceptions of the drama are so profoundly different that the plays remain essentially unlike even when one dramatist comes into the historical period supposedly reserved to the other.

FRENCH CLASSICAL DRAMA AND THE COMÉDIE LARMOYANTE

BY

F. M. WARREN

The notions which obtain in the serious comedy of France, the *comédie larmoyante,* during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, are commonly derived from the moralists of the closing years of the seventeenth century, and from ideas which were current on the English stage of that period. Apparently no attempt has been made to connect these notions with the conceptions and methods of French classical drama. Yet the ordinary trend of literary criticism would naturally lead to such an attempt. Dramatic composition is peculiarly amenable to tradition. The principles of the art are fairly permanent. The theatre of one generation invariably contains the germs of the theatre which follows. Why then should the *comédie larmoyante* prove an exception, and alone of all the forms of comedy or tragedy reject its ancestral inheritance? Leaving England aside for the moment, we may admit that the ethics of La Rochefoucauld, La Fontaine, Boileau and La Bruyère prompt the virtuous sentiments of Destouches and La Chaussée. Certain apothegms of these older writers may be even regarded as the text for the exegesis of the younger. The familiar maxim of La Rochefoucauld: "Le bon naturel, qui se vante d'être si sensible, est souvent étouffé par le moindre intérêt" (Maxime 275), and its corrective with La Bruyère: "Il y a de certains grands sentiments, de certaines actions nobles et élevées, que nous devons moins à la force de notre esprit qu'à la bonté de notre naturel" ("Du Cœur," 79), contain the essence of *Le Glorieux* or *Le Préjugé à la Mode.* The innate goodness of

human nature, the joy which a "sensible" heart bestowed on its lucky possessor, may have been heresy and folly to the rank and file of Molière's contemporaries, but they nevertheless formed the delight of some select souls of his day.

However, neither La Rochefoucauld nor La Bruyère were playwrights, and of the quartet La Fontaine alone ventured to try his hand at dramatic composition. So that in order to give the *comédie larmoyante* a rational place in the history of the French theatre, we must find its forerunners in plays which preceded it. There must be ideas, episodes, perhaps plots—the last is surely not necessary—in the stage of the seventeenth century, which resemble the ideas and incidents of the serious comedy of the eighteenth.

At first glance this resemblance does not appear. The striking feature in Destouches, who anticipates and explains La Chaussée,[1] and therefore must himself be explained, is his character portraits, a trait which he borrowed from La Bruyère. His fondness for moral teaching may be attributed quite as plausibly to the example of Boileau and La Fontaine. It is also probable that Telemachus was a model for his heroes and heroines. For Fénelon has endowed this offspring of his invention with those qualities of mind and heart that Destouches and La Chaussée never tire of praising. Telemachus is "sensible." He is emotional even to tears. His belief in the inherent goodness of human nature is based on bedrock. And the mere sight of the father whom he does not know is enough to start in him the flow of natural affection.[2] What further virtues can Destouches—or La

[1] G. Lanson, *Nivelle de la Chaussée et la Comédie larmoyante*, 2nd ed'n., pp. 43-45.

[2] Télémaque, d'un naturel vif et sensible (*Télémaque*, VIII).—Laissez-moi en ce moment pleurer mon père (do. I).—Il verse un torrent de larmes (do. VII).—Il s'afflige sans savoir pourquoi; les larmes coulent de ses yeux, et rien ne lui est si doux que de pleurer (do. XXVI).—Télémaque . . . se réjouissait qu'il y eût encore au monde un peuple qui, suivant la droite nature, fût si sage et si heureux

Chaussée—add? *Télémaque* was published in 1699. *L'Obstacle imprévu,* where Destouches appeals for the first time to the voice of nature, where he makes his first attempt to heighten the spectator's interest by the sight of a father in disguise,[3] and where novelistic incidents first become noticeable, is of 1717.[4]

This same year, 1717, Destouches went to England. He staid there six years. It is generally supposed that acquaintance with the English stage increased his liking for pathetic scenes and moral exhortations. But when a specific instance of such an influence is sought for one finds himself in a quandary. The comedies of Cibber, Mrs. Centlivre and Steele, the dramatists in vogue during Destouches' residence in London, resemble the *drame bourgeois* but remotely. Steele's *Conscious Lovers,* which was acted in November, 1722, could alone be cited as fostering a taste for the pathetic and romanesque. This play appeared only on the eve of Destouches' return home, and its peculiar characteristics may in fact have been due to the unrecorded instigation of the French playwright, a conjecture which is surely more probable than the other, that Steele swayed Destouches.[5]

Nor did the latter, when again in France, in 1723, immediately engage in further dramatic production. Several years slipped by before his *Philosophe marié* (1727) was staged. And here there is nothing new. The old effects of

tout ensemble (do. VIII).—Je sens que mon cœur s'intéresse pour cet homme, sans savoir pourquoi . . . . je sentais bien dans cet inconnu je ne sais quoi qui m'attirait à lui et qui remuait toutes mes entrailles (do. XXIV).

[3] W. T. Peirce, *The Bourgeois from Molière to Beaumarchais,* Columbus, 1907 (Johns Hopkins dissertation), p. 58.

[4] Tears had already flowed in *L'Ingrat* (1712), and *Le Médisant* (1715). They are shed again in *L'Obstacle imprévu.* With this play melodrama really begins.

[5] See *The Conscious Lovers,* Act I, Sc. 2 (family captured on the high seas, daughter saved unknown to father), Act V, Sc. 3 (recognition scene, pathos, tears).

L'Obstacle imprévu are simply revived and developed. A disguise again (of the unsuccessful lover, not the father), pathos and tears, and a moral lesson succinctly preached. But these features of the future *comédie larmoyante* now form scenes in a plot which was made fairly famous by later use, the idea of the husband ashamed of his love for the wife because the decree of fashion was against it. This notion had come forward in Destouches' first comedy, *Le Curieux impertinent* (1710), and, before Destouches, in Dancourt's *Foire de Besons*[6] (1695). Yet its repetition in *Le Philosophe marié* must have seemed a novelty to the public, for Destouches felt himself obliged to reply to the criticisms aimed at him with the one-act comedy of *L'Envieux,* much as Molière had defended himself under similar circumstances. In *L'Envieux* the various questions raised by *Le Philosophe marié* are passed in review, such as the husband's attitude towards the wife, the propriety of tears in a comedy, the advantages of a simple style and plot and the appropriateness of moral instruction on the stage.[7]

So it is in *Le Philosophe marié* of 1727, and not in *Le Glorieux* of 1732, that Destouches is confessedly conscious of his new departure. It is with this play, therefore, that the analysis of the elements which go to make up the *comédie larmoyante* should stop. What were these elements? Were they purely narrative, disquisitional, coming from essays, maxims, satires, novels only? The confidence which Destouches showed in his apology of *L'Envieux* would argue that they were not. Had he doubted the strength of his case as a dramatic writer, had he felt himself unsupported by the traditions of the French theatre, he would have betrayed some slight uneasiness at least when he summoned Molière's comedies of character to give their evidence in his

[6] Peirce, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[7] *L'Envieux*, Sc. 10, 12, 14.—The apologist suggests *Le Mari honteux de l'être* as a better title for the original play.

favor (Sc. 14). Assured then by his bearing we should turn back to the stage of the seventeenth century, with the firm expectation of finding in its productions more than mere traces of these same novelistic ideas. And if we find them there to any marked degree, we would be in a position to object to the accepted verdict, that Destouches was the first who shaped them to dramatic ends.

In such a review Corneille naturally leads, and so far as his comedies are concerned we do not discover any especial resemblance to Destouches. *Le Menteur* is a character play, but it is not at all pathetic. Corneille's tragedies are also foreign to the conception of the *comédie larmoyante,* with one important exception, *Héraclius.* The performance of *Héraclius,* in 1647, had been attended by a moderate amount of success. Its production by Molière's company later did not, however, meet with favor. When it was revived again, many years afterwards, in 1724, Destouches had just returned from England, and the fortunes of the new comedy were hanging in the balance. But this time *Héraclius* was well liked. Public taste had evidently changed. *Héraclius* suited the change, and attracted sufficient notice to become the subject of a literary controversy.[8] Its romanesque plot and melodramatic notions, which may have harmed it under Louis XIV, helped it under his successor.

For its hero, Heraclius, is a disguised character. Phocas believes him to be his son, while in reality he is the son of Maurice, who had been put to death by Phocas. As a further complication, Phocas' own son, Martian, passes as the son of a governess. Phocas' desire to have Heraclius marry Pulcheria, who is Maurice's daughter and therefore Heraclius' sister, forces the governess to acquaint Heraclius with the facts of his birth. The other characters of the play remain unenlightened still, with the result that this misunderstanding

[8] Marty-Laveaux edition of Corneille ("Les Grands Ecrivains"), v, p. 118.

lasts up to the solution, and sustains the action. When all are finally informed of their actual parentage, Martian, who had unwittingly joined in a conspiracy to kill Phocas, his father, claims that had he proceeded to carry out his purpose "nature" would have stayed his hand.[9] But Phocas could not rightly interpret this instinctive feeling because of his vices. After much wavering he thinks that nature indicates Heraclius as his son.[10] The goodness of Heraclius inclines him towards the same mistaken conclusion. Phocas' kindness to him makes him uncertain as to the promptings of nature's voice.[11] Yet when Phocas is punished at the end, it is Martian's heart and not Heraclius', which tends towards a silent protest.[12]

Disguised relationships, appeals to nature to decide which is the father, which the son, these are among the chosen devices of the *comédie larmoyante*. And they make the whole interest of *Héraclius*. Given again to the stage at the moment when the new comedy was forming, with the authority of the great Corneille back of them, we cannot possibly presume that they remained without any influence on the playwrights of 1724. Though Destouches does not mention *Héraclius*, we must suppose, with his great passion for the theater, that he is to be counted among the spectators who applauded Martian's sentiments. Of the literary controversy which the tragedy excited he surely was cognizant.

Other dramatists of Corneille's day, following in his foot-

[9] Et lorsque contre vous il m'a fait entreprendre.
La nature en secret aurait su m'en défendre.
1343, 1344.

[10] Car enfin c'est vers toi que penche la nature. 1600.
Cf. 1361, 1367, 1368, 1375, 1377.

[11] Des deux côtés en vain j'écoute la nature. 1592.
. . . . . .
Et le sang, par un double et secret artifice,
Parle en vous pour Phocas, comme en lui pour Maurice.
1599, 1600.

[12] Act v, Sc. 7.

steps perhaps, finding inspiration as he probably had done in the fashionable novels of the time, where nearly all the characters appeared in disguise, used romanesque notions here and there in their writings. Thomas Corneille's first tragedy, *Timocrate* (1656), is one example of this kind, nor does it stand alone among his works. Quinault's plays, *Le Feint Alcibiade, Agrippa, Astarte*, all delight in disguises. In *Agrippa* (1660) the solution is reached by the appeal to natural instinct, or, as Quinault terms it in one scene, "la voix du sang." [13] Whether there is any direct connection between these playwrights and Destouches, however, is uncertain.

But with Racine the case is different. After the public performance of *Athalie*, in 1716, his fame rivalled Corneille's or even exceeded it. Yet how could Racine be suspected of cherishing any sympathy for the romanesque? He is so clear, so direct. It is true he was entering on his literary career at the moment when the faculty of being "sensible" was beginning to be valued by Parisian society. He could not wholly resist fashion. So Hermione is "sensible," and Hippolytus too.[14] Britannicus comforts Agrippina with the words, "nos malheurs trouvent des cœurs sensibles." [15] In *Iphigénie* the voice of nature is raised in protest against the sacrifice of a daughter.[16] And *La Thébaïde*, Racine's first tragedy, repeats with emphasis this characteristic of the *comédie larmoyante*.[17] That this very insistence of *La Thébaïde* may have militated against its favorable reception by Racine's contemporaries is possible, but with the generation which had been stirred by the story of Telemachus we may assume that it counted for it. *La Thébaïde* underwent a successful revival in 1721, and through its handling of this feature of sentimental comedy lent the weight of Racine's

[13] *Agrippa*, Act v, Sc. 3.—Cf. in Act v, Sc. 4, the line:

Elle impute à l'amour ce que fait la nature.

[14] *Andromaque*, 472; *Phèdre*, 1203.

[15] *Britannicus*, 896. [16] 281, 282.

[17] 267, 515, 807, 808, 983, etc.

name also to the idea of the new theatre in the hours of its conception.

Corneille, then, undoubtedly fostered the notions of the *comédie larmoyante.* Racine at least did not oppose them. There remains a third, and greater than they. Of Molière Destouches boasts himself a disciple.[18] From him he not only drew inspiration, but also the actual outline of certain episodes and plots, thoroughly assimilated to be sure, so that Destouches was practically unconscious of any plagiarism. For instance, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* offers in the tenth scene of its third act the pattern for the fifth scene of the third act of *Le Curieux impertinent,* Destouches' maiden effort. The fifth scene of the second act of *L'Ingrat* recalls the twelfth scene of the third act of the same masterpiece, with the parts of the sexes reversed. Both *L'Ingrat* and *Le Médisant* imitate in the female servant the common-sense soubrette of Molière. *Les Philosophes amoureux,* which, in 1729, followed after *Le Philosophe marié,* without continuing, however, the melodramatic tendency of the latter, paraphrases a familiar line of *Les Femmes savantes.*[19] Destouches surely knew his Molière by heart.

Out of this intimate acquaintance with Molière's intrigues and episodes developed a situation which is of capital importance in the history of the new comedy. In 1732 Destouches put *Le Glorieux* on the stage. *Le Glorieux* inherits in a direct line of succession the novelistic style and methods of *Le Philosophe marié.* It goes even further than its ancestor. It elaborates the romanesque and makes it an essential part of the structure. And because of the prominence it gives to this element *Le Glorieux* is held to be a complete embryo of the *comédie larmoyante.*[20] By suppressing Destouches' study of character, in reality the

[18] Preface to *Le Glorieux; L'Envieux,* Sc. 14.

[19] Et pour l'amour du grec embrassez-vous tous deux. Act v, Sc. 2. Cf. *Les Femmes savantes,* 946.

[20] Lanson, *l. c.*

minor part of *Le Glorieux,* and by retaining his melodramatic ideas and scenes, in the following year La Chaussée evolved from this play *La Fausse Antipathie.* Consequently the construction and determining incidents of *Le Glorieux* claim close scrutiny. Their antecedents are the sources of the *comédie larmoyante.* By following them back to their origin the *comédie larmoyante* receives a proper, historical explanation. It ceases to be an outcast, a stranger to the tradition of the French theatre. With the proofs of its citizenship in hand, it can take its legitimate place among its fellows, like them a lawful offspring of the dramatic genius of the French people.

Now *Le Glorieux* in certain passages reminds one of similar incidents in Molière's *L'Avare,* and a careful comparison of the two comedies discloses more than one subtle correspondence.[21] Indeed it is seen that the novelistic part of *Le Glorieux,* in which lies its real interest, is simply the restatement of the romanesque secondary plot of *L'Avare.* The essential difference in the action of the two plays, by which the one remains a genuine comedy of character and the other becomes a comedy of manners, mainly arises from the fact that Molière speedily returned to his analysis of a miser, while Destouches subordinated the portrayal of his vainglorious hero to the attractions of an adventurous narrative.

The minor plot of *L'Avare* is outlined in its first scene, where the miser's daughter, Elise, and his domestic, Valère, talk over their love affair and mention the circumstances which had occasioned it. Valère is of good birth, but has taken service with Harpagon because he wants to be near his mistress, whose life he had saved. The first emotion aroused in Molière's audience was therefore caused by the mutual affection of servant and mistress. The hope that Valère will

[21] The relationship of *Le Glorieux* to *L'Avare* was pointed out sometime since, in the *Modern Language Notes* of April, 1900: *Molière's L'Avare and le Drame bourgeois.*

find his parents and thus win Elise's hand is excited at once in the spectator's mind.

In *Le Glorieux* the parallel situation is spread out over an entire act, instead of being restricted to one scene. The characters reappear, but with conditions reversed. Valère is now the son of the family and Lisette is the domestic. But a series of explanations soon puts us in possession of the same information which Molière had offered in a more compact form. Lisette is high-minded, is of good birth, is beloved by Valère, had been his sister's school-mate before she became her maid, and is promised better days by a mysterious friend, who will turn out to be her father. So much space is given to her fortunes that the marriage of Le Glorieux to Valère's sister, which should be the principal plot of the play,[22] is almost relegated to the background. Yet in spite of these pronounced divergencies in their treatment of the subject, and in their methods of dramatic construction, Destouches and Molière meet again in their respective solutions. In each a satisfactory outcome rewards the constancy of the lovers. The missing father of the valet appears, the disguised parent of the maid reveals himself and the revelation of their position removes all obstacles to their children's happiness.

The novelistic element of *L' Avare* and *Le Glorieux,* therefore, is in its essence the same. Of far greater volume in the one than in the other, there is yet no trait in the one that has not already been outlined by the other. And this faithful repetition of the ideas of the master playwright is emphasized by a further loan on the part of his admiring disciple. Harpagon's son had a sweetheart, Mariane, who was instinctively drawn to Valère at their very first meeting.[23] Lisette, too, was ever conscious of an inexplicable lean-

[22] Peirce, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[23] Mon cœur s'est ému dès le moment que vous avez ouvert la bouche. *L'Avare*, Act v, Sc. 5.

ing towards Le Glorieux.[24] The identification of their fathers furnishes in both cases the reasons for this involuntary sentiment. Mariane and Valère prove to be brother and sister, as do Lisette and Le Glorieux. The cry of the blood had warned them.[25]

[24] Sans deviner pourquoi j'ai du penchant pour lui. *Le Glorieux*, Act I, Sc. 2.

[25] Destouches is not at all averse to repeating situations and details. In *L'Obstacle imprévu*, where his leaning towards serious comedy is first noticeable, he makes a father, Lisimon, and his son, Valère, in love with the same girl, Julie. Their clash of interests was probably suggested by the courtship that Harpagon and his son, Cléante, carried on with Mariane. An echo of *L'Obstacle imprévu* is given by *Le Glorieux*, where Lisimon and Valère again appear as father and son. Lisimon does not woo Lisette. He is married. But he offers her violence. Another loan made by *Le Glorieux* from *L'Obstacle imprévu* is the name of the old man, Licandre, who in each play is the hero of a romanesque adventure.

THE PLACE OF CHATEAUBRIAND AS A CRITIC OF ITALIAN LITERATURE

BY

B. L. Bowen

Like many of the romanticists who followed him, Chateaubriand felt the peculiar fascination of Italy, and as traveler and linguist was drawn into sympathetic relations with the life and literature of that country. After America and England, it was Italy that next attracted him and that continued for forty years to exert its influence upon him. An ambitious traveler, he made the journey to Italy six times; and while the ostensible motive of most of these visits was a political or a diplomatic one, it was the poetical and critical nature of the man that was the more deeply affected. His liking for languages had shown itself early in life, and, possessing an extraordinary memory, his progress in language-study had, as a school-boy, been remarkably rapid. While he spoke Italian less fluently than he did English, his knowledge of the literature of Italy was commendable, and his memory was stored with passages from the great Italian poets.

While so many of the great writers have visited and written about Italy, very few perhaps have risen to a full and adequate appreciation of her. The poet and the critic are often limited by a temperament and a point of view which may be prejudicial to breadth of judgment. It was nature rather than literature in Italy that appealed to Lamartine. Madame de Staël was impressed mainly by art in Italy, while her literary tastes were rather with Germany. And Byron, who failed to penetrate the depths of Italian thought, was moved by the passionate scenes in Dante, while the moral and religious force of the *Divina Commedia* escaped him or had for him little at-

traction. In the case of Chateaubriand, who was a man of pronounced personal peculiarities, it was inevitable that his critical attitude toward the Italian writers should be shaped in large measure by his own temperament and experiences. He had been an émigré in England, and he was proud of that, as of much else. He liked to emphasize his own exile from France, and sought while in Italy to sympathize with all those who, like himself, had been subject to banishment, going so far, while minister at Rome, as to intercede in behalf of the exiled brother of Napoleon. This temper of mind on the part of Chateaubriand was one factor which helped to shape his appreciation of Dante, in whom he reveres the illustrious exile and whom he had not at first fully appreciated as a poet. It is the poet's banishment that furnishes him with a key to his genius, and, after following him in his exile, the Italian tercets have for the French artist a new charm. At Ravenna it is the thought of the poet's misfortune and death in exile that move him to sympathetic comment.

Chateaubriand was a solitary being who loved to withdraw within himself. And indeed the great Florentine was, according to the statement of his earliest biographer, a man who "loved to be solitary and apart from mankind." At all events it is evident that the melancholy, the sombre, the pathetic, always very congenial to the spirit of Chateaubriand, are features that appealed to him very forcibly in his study of the *Divina Commedia.* Sadness was for him the most essential quality of Dante's language. And he found nothing more impressive than the tremendous solitude of the dark wood in which Dante wanders at the beginning of the *Inferno.* The *Inferno* appeals particularly to Chateaubriand. He admires to the fullest extent the poet's genius as shown in the depicting of unmitigated woes and torments, but is less enthusiastic where it is necessary to portray sorrows mingled with some joys. Despair was better suited to his nature than hope, and the familiar "Lasciate ogni speranza" was the text of more than one passage in his works. The religious sentiment in

Chateaubriand and the religious motive in much of what he wrote would naturally influence him in his judgment of a poem like the *Divina Commedia*. Since the Christian religion attracted him as the most poetic and the most beautiful of all the religions that have existed, he was prepared to recognize poetic beauties in Dante's poem and anxious to attribute them to the influence of Christianity. The more sombre their coloring and the more gruesome and involved the setting, the more typical do they seem to him. The pit of serpents in the eighth circle of the *Inferno* furnishes an unanswerable argument in favor of the poetic beauties of the Christian religion. And even the celebrated Francesca da Rimini episode, as dear to Chateaubriand as to the romanticists who followed him, is made to owe much of its pathos to the inflexible justice of the Christian code. While the early commendation bestowed by him upon Dante was at times vague, betokening a somewhat superficial acquaintance, his later and more mature appreciation connoted an intelligent grasp of the poet's thought. The faulty standards of taste and a prosaic tone of verse which he discovered in some of the cantos were defects which caused him ennui, as did so much else apart from Dante. His recognition, however, of Dante's importance as a forerunner, and his emphasis of what he did for the Italian language and literature, his adequate parallel between Dante and Vergil, and his more suggestive comparison of Dante and Shakespeare, are indicative of Chateaubriand's place in the domain of literary criticism.

His interest in Petrarch was less marked. He was familiar with the *Canzoniere* and was touched by the soft harmony of the poet's verse. He had visited Avignon and Vaucluse, and made these places the basis of felicitous comments upon the poet's relation to Laura. And he placed great value upon the Latin works of the author, one of which he rated as superior to most of the sonnets. Chateaubriand was a most clever portrayer of the charm of melancholy, and was one of the first to emphasize traces of it found in earlier epochs; and this

brought him closer to Petrarch, whose lines expressive of his own dejected and solitary state are just the ones that provoked most cordial appreciation on the part of the French critic.

Ariosto and Tasso are linked together by Chateaubriand as the two noblest men of genius that modern Italy has produced, but in his comparison of them the advantage is plainly on the side of the latter. And here the temperament of the critic again intervenes. Ariosto was, apart from the question of literary merit, a relatively fortunate man, attached to a powerful ducal house, playing successfully the role of courtier, and winning more or less substantial favors. For this primary reason Chateaubriand was less attracted to him than to other more unfortunate men. The subject too of the *Orlando Furioso* was one that he considered ill-adapted to the poet and his environment; and it occasioned him much surprise to think that Ariosto, having all about him the solemn and suggestive monuments of one of the most civilized peoples of the earth, should have seen fit to turn aside and consume his energies in celebrating the paladins of a semi-barbarous France.

But to Tasso Chateaubriand was drawn as to no other Italian writer. The religious character of this poet's representative work had, as in the case of Dante, much to do with the critic's cordial attitude. And more cogent than in the case of Dante were misfortunes and wanderings in inspiring deep sympathy and homage. The sad story of Tasso's life, his delicate and super-sensitive spirit, his morbidity, his religious excitement, the incurable melancholy of his disposition, all this appealed strongly to a man of Chateaubriand's nature. For him Tasso was the man who had wept, as Ariosto was the man who had laughed. While at Ferrara he visited the supposed prison of Tasso, and wrote many vivid pages about the poet and his misfortunes, emphasizing the thought that if there is any one life illustrative of the fact that happiness must be despaired of by men of genius, it is that of Tasso. Chateaubriand had himself passed through a brief period of imprisonment, and he utilized this circumstance as a pretext for a

comparison of his own experience with that of Tasso in his long confinement at Ferrara. In the mind of Chateaubriand Tasso is the representative Italian poet. For him Tasso is always the Italian Homer; and indeed the personages of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* are judged superior to those of the *Iliad*. Tasso, in portraying his knights, has given types of the perfect warrior; while Homer, in portraying men of the old heroic ages, has drawn only species of monsters. And the reason is that here once more Christianity has stepped in and has furnished the beau ideal for the characters; and that thus Tasso, himself the most devoted of knights, had an advantage which polytheism could not offer to the singer of Ilium. Tasso's poem is for Chateaubriand a convincing proof that something excellent can be produced upon a Christian theme; and it might have been more powerful had the poet been less timid, and had he dared to utilize more freely the grand machinery of Christianity. According to Chateaubriand there have been in modern times only two noble subjects for an epic poem: the Crusades and the Discovery of the New World. The former is the more attractive to a Frenchman, and Chateaubriand is convinced that Tasso, in utilizing this subject, has constructed a poem which is a model in every respect. While the art with which the poet has arranged his scenes and mingled his episodes without confusing them is admirable, his character-sketching is not less skillful. Chateaubriand was on the watch for contrasts, and he was quick to see and emphasize in Tasso's men the clever grouping of the qualities of fierceness and generosity, grandeur and magnanimity, prudence and artifice; and in his women coquetry, sensibility, and indifference. During his journey to the Orient, Chateaubriand had with him at Jerusalem a copy of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and he notes with enthusiasm the fidelity and precision of Tasso's descriptions, the vigor and purity of his style, his exquisite judgment, his sublime expressions, his admirable stanzas. Such are the critic's favorite epithets in discussing Tasso's lines. The poem is for him full of honor and chivalry;

it is a soldier's poem, permeated with a spirit of valor and glory, so that one might fancy it had been written upon a shield in the midst of the active camp. Chateaubriand indulges in much praise of this sort. To be sure Tasso is at times hampered by his lack of boldness, and some of his lines are in poor taste, while others show evidence of undue haste.

The death of Alfieri occurred while Chateaubriand was in Italy for the first time. He had never seen Alfieri in life, but was present at the preparations for his funeral; and this incident, which he first describes in his letter to M. de Fontanes and repeats later in his *Mémoires*, made a strong impression upon his mind and led him to take an active interest in the works of the poet. He was further influenced by the fact that Alfieri had also been a writer of memoirs, while he himself was preparing to write his own autobiography. And this helps to explain why he preferred the author's memoirs to his tragedies, discovering in the former a more natural tone, but pronouncing the latter crude, cold, and pompous in style. Again, the passion for travel was common to both of these men, and this fact likewise led Chateaubriand to find a charm in passages of Alfieri's memoirs which he failed at times to discern in his more pretentious works.

Manzoni and Silvio Pellico are associated together in the mind of Chateaubriand as farewell rays of Italian glory. But the former was for him much the less attractive figure; and though he was familiar with *I Promessi Sposi*, his interest in that work was incidental and his remarks upon the author have little critical value. In Pellico, however, he found another congenial spirit, and again misfortune served as the bond of union. At Venice the sight of the rooms in the Doge's palace where Pellico had been first imprisoned aroused him to vivid and impressive comments which are marred only by the unnecessary projection of his own personality and experiences into his description. The perusal of the *Prigioni* carried his enthusiasm to the highest pitch. He was delighted, and his delight expressed itself in a gay and jaunty

style as he penned his appreciation to Madame Récamier. What appealed to Chateaubriand as critic was not so much the bearing of the work as a whole, as the lively interest of its various characters and episodes. These he found very picturesque and romantic, or at least he sought to lend to them a decidedly picturesque and romantic coloring.

Chateaubriand's knowledge of literary Italy extended to Boccaccio and Metastasio, to the sonnets of Michael Angelo, the novelettes of Bandello, and the poetry of Francini, the Florentine friend of Milton. Of Goldoni he would seem to have known little, and doubtless he cared little for the comic tone of that writer; though from his own assertions he studied and noted much more about Italy and her writers than he was able to incorporate in his *Mémoires* or other works. At all events his knowledge of Italian literature was unusually broad for his time. His attitude was very sympathetic if the life of the writer in question had been unfortunate. His literary judgments were often adequate, especially if the works had a religious setting or a sombre tone. His visits to Italy did not inspire him to write a novel or a poem upon that country; and *Corinne* and the fourth canto of *Childe Harold* were composed while he was collecting material for his *Mémoires*. It was rather in critical and descriptive writing that Chateaubriand communicated his impressions of Italian life and literature. In this role of critic he was sometimes unduly influenced by his own point of view. He was too much inclined, in forming his critical estimates, to bring himself into the foreground, and to view the writer through the medium of his own temperament, tastes, and experiences.

THE POETRY OF SULLY PRUDHOMME[1]

BY

E. Preston Dargan

I.

In 1902, Catulle Mendès declared, in his frothy way, that the talent of Sully Prudhomme had long since overflowed the vase, the beautiful broken vase, wherein certain admirers had sought to confine it. These admirers, among whom the names of Gautier and Ste. Beuve are not least, spoke in the days before the elegist had formally donned the philosopher's robe; they were right in remarking his primary qualities of sensibility, tenderness, melancholy; they were safe in caressing the contour of a vase, filled, as it appeared, with *eau sucrée* not far from the lake of Lamartine and transported to a retreat not unlike the ivory tower of De Vigny—where it was yet to enshrine the flower which the poet saw as *La Pensée*.

In 1910, it would seem time at least to begin the search for a final position. Sully Prudhomme died three years ago. Recently there have been issued not only a posthumous collection of his earlier unpublished lyrics,[2] but also an excellent monograph by M. Zyromski, whose work as a *paysagiste* will be remembered. I shall endeavor to summarize the impressions received from a study of the complete poems, with several side-lights; and to clear up a little the main question as

[1] *Oeuvres*, Lemerre, 5 vols. (édition elzévirienne.) *Epaves*, Lemerre, 1908. *Testament Poétique*, 1904. Hémon, *La Philosophie de Sully Prudhomme*, 1907. Zyromski, *Sully Prudhomme*, 1907. Pierre Fons, *Sully Prudhomme*, 1907 (in "Les Célébrités d'aujourd'hui.") A bibliography is published in this last.

[2] *Les Epaves*.

to whether Sully Prudhomme could fuse and magnify head and heart, rank with the philosophic Olympians, blow through bronze as well as breathe through silver.

II.

The essential facts in his life are that he was a brooding school-boy, inept for action, fond always of books and meditation. That about his twentieth year he underwent a religious crisis, found himself feeble in health and began to write. Then he came under the influence of Leconte de Lisle and passed through the unfortunate love-affair which gave him the better part of his purely lyrical inspiration. The *Stances et Poèmes* of 1865 give ample proof of his sensibility, if less of his poetic *maîtrise*. This was much benefited, he has handsomely acknowledged, by his brief connection with the Parnassians, who taught him to shun *chevilles,* compress the Lamartinian vagueness and seek above all *le mot juste*.

From now on, the poet's career was declared, he abandoned his law studies, travelled in Italy, brought out two more elegiac volumes and came through the siege of '70 with health permanently wrecked.

Les Vaines Tendresses of 1875 may be considered by its very title to show what inner development was taking place. For ten years he had written chiefly from the memories of his wounded love. His Elvire had not become a Beatrice: she had remained a woman, desired and lost. If he was to struggle through, however maimed, to some sort of life and expression, a wider feeling must move him. The nobility of his character is shown patently for those who have eyes to see in the fact that from an elegist he became a humanitarian.

That these abstract terms meant something in his case appears from what follows. It is true that he did not mingle actively as a philanthropist or as anything else in contemporary life. He was none the less nearly torn asunder by the problems of human destinies in the large. With Marcus

Aurelius and Pascal for his guides, " avec des angoisses et des veilles " for his food of life, this poet spent the remainder of his days in trying to find out what we are, whither we are tending and principally what will help us go forward. The results, in so far as they appear in the long poems *La Justice* and *Le Bonheur,* will be recorded shortly.

His fame, grounded on the earlier volumes, increased during these years. He was elected to the Academy in 1881 and received in 1901 the Nobel Prize, with which he established a prize, bearing his own name, for the younger generation of poets.

III.

There are dozens of pieces in his first volume, expressing poignantly the whole gamut of disappointed passion from direct jealousy and baffled desire, through the mournfulness of memories, down to the more discreet though scarcely less moving hint of the happiness that might have been. Of bitter invective there is little; of resignation not a trace as yet. Especially in this first volume, there is occasional *mièvrerie* and infelicity. The lyrics are usually quite simple in form, of a few stanzas only, sometimes showing a pretty use of the refrain, as in—

" Ici-bas les lèvres effleurent
Sans rien laisser de leur velours;
Je rêve aux baisers qui demeurent
Toujours . . ."

This is one instance of the eternal elegiac regret for fleeting joy, which naturally came to compound itself with his more personal melancholy. Other elements are the ever-defeated yearning to grasp and sympathize with all things; the powerlessness of the dream which yet remains a habit; the sharply snapped link between the ideals of youth and the facts of manhood; the disconcerted gaze over the domain of human

action, producing already the unappeasable *cui bono* questionings; and chiefly that attachment of everything to the loved object, according to Stendhal's crystallization process, with the feeling that the loss of her meant the loss of all. There are many poems where these things are not directly considered, where they merely serve as a pensive background to some less intimate, equally poetic outburst.

To analyze his reveries is easier than to bring out, except by too frequent quotation, the great charm and delicacy of his treatment. It is the brush of a bee's wing, the coloring of a wild-flower. One striking technical point is the handling of the last stanza and the last line. It is generally conceded that the last line is what makes the modern sonnet. Therein lies the epigrammatic sting, like the closing sentence of one of Burke's paragraphs or of the Maupassantian short story. Sully Prudhomme applies this principle with a craftsmanship effecting rather more than a suspension of interest, a veritable revelation at the close.

Here is an example of such construction, expressing as well his soul-state during this period:—

"Vous désirez savoir de moi
D'où me vient pour vous ma tendresse;
Je vous aime, voici pourquoi:
Vous ressemblez à ma jeunesse.

Vos yeux noirs sont mouillés souvent
Par l'espérance et la tristesse,
Et vous allez toujours rêvant:
Vous ressemblez à ma jeunesse.

Je vous tends chaque jour la main,
Vous offrant l'amour qui m'oppresse;
Mais vous passez votre chemin . . .
Vous ressemblez à ma jeunesse."

The great simplicity of this is apparent. I find again and again poems of a Wordsworthian, almost a conversational phrasing, which lose nothing, for a foreigner at least, by their

directness. Certainly poetic diction is less of an enclosed garden with the French than with us. At the same time, the Romanticists and the Parnassians have sufficiently shown that the cult of the fatal word can be extended, if not to the ornamental word, at least to the exotic, rare, subtly associative word, which seeks to reveal horizons. Sully Prudhomme too could do this on occasion—*Le Cygne* is an example. Yet his talent was not really descriptive. He has, for instance, few landscape effects. Nature for him was mainly an enigma who vouchsafed symbols, and Zyromski notices particularly the lily, the star, the clear sky. But the poet's heart-throbs usually subsist by the force of their independent rhythm.

It should also be remarked that he naturally strengthened and sobered his vocabulary as he matured. Similes lost their occasional touch of the conceit, and the sonnets especially sweep to their close with a masterly impulsion of winged words.

In his earlier manner, here are some of the admirable lines:

"La pensée est pour vous un mal né d'une absence."
(*Les Epaves.*)

"Comment fais-tu les grands amours,
Petite ligne de la bouche?"
(*Stances et Poèmes.*)

Again:

"Je t'aime en attendant mon éternelle épouse."
(*Vaines Tendresses.*)

"J'écoute en moi pleurer un étranger sublime
Qui m'a toujours caché sa patrie et son nom."
(*Vaines Tendresses.*)

With a touch of preciosity:

"J'honore dans la plume un souvenir de l'aile."
(*Stances et Poèmes.*)

To the violet:

"Fleur du soupir timide et du tremblant aveu,
Tu dois être cherchée et par les yeux conquise,
Des secrets ombrageux la confidente exquise,
Fleur d'espoir, de pardon, de rappel et d'adieu!"

(*Les Epaves.*)

The constellation of the Great Bear:

"O figure fatale, exacte et monotone,
Pareille à sept clous d'or plantés dans un drap noir.'"

(*Les Epreuves.*)

For the happiness of poets:

"Il leur faut une solitude
Où voltige un baiser."

(*Vaines Tendresses.*)

Among the conceits, one may hesitate at the idea of a mother as an "unique Danaïde"; of a brain which is absorbed in dreams as a soaked sponge descends in the water; of a man who has made his shroud "avec un pan du ciel."—Illustrating the emotional torment of this period, I quote the splendid sonnet called *Inquiétude*:[3]

"Pour elle désormais je veux être si bon,
Si bon, qu'elle se sache aveuglément chérie;
Je ne lui dirai plus: 'Il faut,' mais 'Je t'en prie . . .'
Et je prendrai les torts, lui laissant le pardon.

Mais quel âpre murmure au fond de moi dit: 'Non!'
Contre un servile amour toute ma fierté crie.
Non! je veux qu'étant mienne, à ma guise pétrie,
Ce soit elle, et non moi, qui craigne l'abandon.

Tantôt je lui découvre en entier ma faiblesse;
Tantôt, rebelle injuste et jaloux, je la blesse
Et je sens dans mon cœur sourdre la cruauté.

Elle ne comprend pas, et je lui semble infâme.
Oh! que je serais doux si tu n'étais qu'une âme!
Ce qui me rend méchant, vois-tu, c'est ta beauté."

[3] *Les Epreuves.*

IV.

Passing from the strictly subjective lyrics, I will say at once that Sully Prudhomme's best work seems to me to lie in those fields where his personal melancholy is swayed to a larger expression, and his spirit, rising from its fruitless revery, comes into grave conscious strife with the ever-waiting problems. The philosophic "*méditation*" tempered with sentiment was his forte.

I have thought of him as a metaphysician *malgré lui,* and he was that, inasmuch as love-poetry would have been his more natural utterance, had the inspiration for this been happy and durable. But contemning

"Ces deuils voluptueux des vaincus sans combats,"

he was forced by his "sublime stranger" to enter the cold repugnant halls of philosophy, and he came out, as he perfectly admitted twenty years later, by the same door wherein he went, as far as a thorough intellectual or scientific explanation of the universe is concerned. Yet it would be a mistake to imagine that his passage through is bare of interest and meaning.

Already in the poem called *Intus* of the first volume, there are heard the two warring voices, that of iconoclastic reason and that of love which cries, "Espère, ô ma sœur! . . ." Later, the combat takes many forms.—Poetry is set against science in half-a-dozen pieces. Poetry is outwardly reconciled to science in the sonnets of *Les Epreuves,* in *Le Zénith,* which was inspired by a balloon ascension, and notably in one place where he divines that the great poetry of the future must grasp and go beyond scientific conclusions, must feel the symbolism of "many inventions," while ignoring their detail. He frequently apostrophizes the scientists—he seeks "a Newton of the soul." *La Beauté* [4] shows the joy

[4] *Vaines Tendresses.*

of the plastic artist as opposed to the suffering of the man of letters, who must endeavor to set up the dream of his rigid goddess in the full tide of realities. Still another aspect of the strife appears in *Sur un vieux tableau.*[5] This is a poignant depiction of the death of Christ set off by the indifference of men, the banality of the day's work, the composure of earth and heaven. *La Voie Lactée*[6] shows the loneliness of the stars, paralleling the loneliness of man. *L'Une d'Elles*[7] declares that a soul isolated in its Palace of Art, surrounded by luxuries, is yet unsatisfied. The parable *L'Art et l'Amour*[8] tells us that the wind of inspiration cannot linger with the flower of love which implores him, and that both die before evening. In *Sur la Mort,*[9] bewildered by the riddles and crying out on dogmas, the poet abandons himself and a dead loved one to the laws of the universe—whatever they may be.

The best of these vital lyrics are the sonnets—the noble sequence called *La France,* where the poet tries to discover a future for his country—the moving intimate sonnets of *Les Epaves,* and especially those of *Les Epreuves,* where I think his most artistic mingling of thought and sentiment is to be found. As Lemaître has pointed out, nearly half of these are symbols or metaphors, with their application justly and grandly developed. In their four divisions of Amour, Doute, Rêve, Action, they include such masterpieces as the *Inquiétude* already quoted; the familiar *Danaïdes; Rouge ou Noire,* where he tosses on the *tapis* with Pascal for the chance of a divinity; *Un Bonhomme,* a remarkable presentment of Spinoza; *La Fatalité,* showing the necessity of the poet's love, the hopelessness of changing it for another happier one. Finally *Un Songe* and *Homo Sum* return to the sense of human fellowship, the rejoicing in labor, the call of action. As evincing his control of the form and as characteristic of his "âme en peine et de passage," I would mention especially the sonnet styled *La Fontaine de Jouvence.*[10]

[5] *Stances et Poèmes.* [6] *Les Solitudes.* [7] *Les Solitudes;* compare below *Le Bonheur.* [8] *Vaines Tendresses.* [9] *Vaines Tendresses.* [10] *Les Epaves.*

V.

For his systematic conclusions in the matter of philosophy, we must turn to the two poems *La Justice* and *Le Bonheur.*

The purport of *La Justice* is to ascertain whether there is a moral order in the universe—no less. Otherwise stated, it investigates whether the rhythm of nature accords with the aspirations of man, and seeks a higher harmony, an ultimate law. The argument unrolls itself in a series of eleven *veilles,* consisting of debates between the poet and certain "voices." The first half of the poem is an arraignment of nature as the enemy of justice, life and love. The evolutionary hypothesis, based on strife and tending to destruction, is adopted. In the soberest of styles, beautiful only with the cold beauty of thought, the poet tries to contemplate impassively a loveless world. The hard brilliant sonnets are answered by a voice which maintains more tenderly the value of dreaming, of a certain forgetfulness, and recommends an easy acceptation of love and of justice as a "cri du cœur." But the poet will have only the truth, and he finds it, following science, in the statement that death is the law of life between species. Each animal

> "Est un gouffre qui rôde, affamé par essence,
> Assouvi par hasard, et, par instinct, béant.
> Aveugle exécuteur d'un mal obligatoire,
> Chaque vivant promène écrit sur sa mâchoire
> L'arrêt de mort d'un autre, exigé par sa faim."

Death is even the basis of love.—

> "L'Amour dresse, au milieu du charnier, son autel."

The world began in a state of war, as it was long ago declared by Hobbes. The first right of man is a "brevet de bourreau." Morality is a later compact, still for egoistic ends.

In the same species, the apparently finer impulses can all

be traced to self-interest. Nature is prudent, cunning, uses even the ideal attraction of sexual love as a veil for her own purposes.—

> "Dans l'œil indifférent des vierges, ô Nature!
> Tu fis bien d'allumer un céleste flambeau:
> Si fort que soit l'attrait d'un corps novice et beau,
> C'est grâce à l'Idéal que l'humanité dure.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Leur regard, fourvoyé par l'ennui vers le ciel,
> Paraît, en se baissant, nous offrir des étoiles;
> Et nous nous approchons! Voilà l'essentiel."

Between governments, war is complicated with trickery and military honor is founded on murder. It is a false abstraction to speak of the brotherhood of man—men are often more remote from one another than from their dogs—and, who, pray, is my neighbor? The apparent reciprocity in cities continues to be based on need, and the strongest get what they can. In other planets, fatality points to like conditions merely more entangled by a possible divinity.

As I understand the second part of the poem, called "Appel au Cœur," the facts of science are not to be answered by a heavenly escape or by resort to a vaporous faith. The facts are very much as they have been stated. Granted the aloofness of Nature, the material strife-basis, the whole evolutionary doctrine—and in *Le Bonheur* he even goes so far as to grant the annihilation of earth and its inhabitants—there remain the other facts, equally inexpugnable, that man has an inner order of his own which he has to some extent imposed upon his world, that mere intelligence, wrestling only with matter, leaves out of account one human specific difference, which is the persistent rule of conscience. It is very possible that Justice, outside of man, has no reason for being, and that we are foolish in applying human conceptions to God and Nature. But the evolutionary laws of the latter are none the less paralleled in the growth of the moral sense. Remorse is then the voice of this wider nature scolding her heir, and

"Nuire à l'humanité c'est rompre la spirale
Où se fait pas à pas l'ascension morale
Dont les mondes sont les degrés."

Finally, the conscience working with the intelligence produces sympathy. Kindliness and co-operation rear up the City, which is the highest expression of humanity—and the concluding definition is:

"La Justice est l'amour guidé par la lumière."

In order to compare this directly with *Le Bonheur,* the content of the latter poem may also be briefly given. The scene is laid in some unknown Paradise. Faustus, the hero, awakens there and finds his earthly love, Stella, by his side. The first part, *Les Ivresses,* is the apotheosis of "l'amour-passion." The lovers, as blessed as love can make them, wander through Elysian delights, which take the somewhat mundane manifestations of savors and perfumes, forms and colors, harmony and beauty. It is again a Palace of Art, where painters possess their ideal models and music soars unrestrained by sorrow.—"Il n'y tremble plus de soupir . . . Il n'y passe plus de frisson . . . Il n'y tinte plus de sanglot."[11] This suggests what is the matter with it. The lovers are shrouded in a "linceul de joie." Aspiration is the highest soul-expression, but this very beautiful love of two is not the perfect aspiration, since it has no *lendemain* and hence no life. Desire and dreaming wear themselves out. The insistent Voix de la Terre, where mortals still suffer, comes as an interlude after every ecstasy.

The second part, *La Pensée,* shows Faustus tormented by *le mal de l'inconnu.* The philosophers, ancient and modern, and the scientists speak; the whole parchment of human thought is unrolled. Pascal appears and seems to solve the unknown with the three key-words of charity, modesty before

[11] Compare the *Limbes* of Casimir Delavigne.

the first cause, and law. Stella, by some transfiguration, endues and symbolizes for Faustus these three attributes. Their love, crowned and fortified by knowledge, would now seem truly perfect.

Still the Voices of the Earth come nearer, individualized in their woe. The idea that "l'amour-sacrifice" is the only complete happiness, in that it contains no inquietude or aftermath, is exemplified by the descent of Faustus and Stella, after long hesitation, to relieve the world's burden. They tread upon an extinct earth, where "la Mort, l'aveugle Mort, l'infaillible Passeuse" has extended her reign and assures them that man has totally disappeared. The impressive description of this manless world, its effect on the would-be benefactors, are followed by Stella's determination to give birth to a new and more enlightened race. Thus brusquely *Le Bonheur* ends.

One may well hesitate as to the absolute ranking of these cosmic epics, when Brunetière and Anatole France, in reviewing them, have thought fit to abstain from a summarizing judgment. That they contain much deep thought, splendid lyrical interludes, some prosing and incoherence, and that they end in a fine faith may be granted. But *Le Bonheur* is an epic drama of three hundred pages, on the same scale and dealing with the same matters as *Faust* or *Paradise Regained*. It falls below these, of course. Few men living can be prepared to decide whether it is a huge failure *per se*, whether it is a *succès d'estime*, what posterity will prefer to do about it. The long poem is the critic's bane, and still more frequently the reader's.

Happily, Sully Prudhomme's fame as a poet of meditation can rest on other evidence. At least one may say that before the magnificent range of thought and feeling developed in these poems, the insidious doubter had best bow his head. If he insists on raising it, perhaps he may question how far this man's failure to realize himself in "l'amour-passion" may have influenced his advocacy of "l'amour-sacrifice." Is it

really by the withering of the individual that the world is more and more? Again, he admits the reign of law and the *souffle* of aspiration. What if we aspire beyond the law?

VI.

That reverence before natural law, which seems to be his chief article of faith, finds manifestation as well in his *ars poetica* and his own technique. The *Testament Poétique* contains first a noble view of the poet's function, declaring that he should be neither an egoistic whiner nor a mere entertainer, but that he must guide, philosophize and befriend. It contains also certain uncompromisingly conservative views on versification. He will have none of the innovations of the symbolists. Victor Hugo carried rhythm as far as it could possibly be carried, and later novelties simply invade illegitimately the realms of prose or of music. The physiological laws of hearing and the law of least effort must apply to the two kinds of rhythm, regular and irregular. In regular rhythm, where the lines are of an equal number of syllables, the cæsura must so fall that each line is divided either into two equal parts, or parts that shall be as little unequal as possible, having, that is, a greatest common divisor. In lines of an unequal number of syllables, the cæsura must fall as nearly as possible in the middle. These principles are elaborated with illustrations. Also he admits no *rime plus que suffisante*. He is willing to make some concessions about eye-rimes and hiatuses; but as a whole his intransigent academic attitude is clearly shown.

He boasts that he himself has found "la vieille lyre" capable of answering every vibration of his heart. Technically he has introduced nothing. He has given his individual note to certain forms, such as the sonnet and that swallow-flight of song which consists of a few quatrains.

This individual note is a quaver of hope over a ground-bass of defeat. Humanly speaking, as compared with most of his

contemporaries of song, it would be narrow not to observe that he is cast in a finer mould, and that he has remained in the fight, keeping a larger sense of the world-struggle. Of what others can that be said? The Parnassians frankly represent the poetry of evasion, frequently obtaining thereby only an aggravated *Weltschmerz* to which they lost the antidote. Gautier and Théodore de Banville are incomparable artists—but are they good alike at grave and gay? Coppée, it is true, comes familiarly nearer the living heart of things. From the standpoint of pure beauty-worship, however,—and certainly, whatever may be said of the other sixty-eight, it is impossible to abjure this fundamental way of constructing tribal lays—Sully Prudhomme bows to several of the masters named as well as to Verlaine, who, purely as a matter of voice, seems to me decidedly the most exquisite French singer after Hugo.

But occasionally "the dominant's persistence" must make its sterner appeal. When we are in such moods, such plight, if you will, Sully Prudhomme may well be heard, with his doctrine of aspiration beyond but for this world, a world frankly taken as not very satisfactory to the sensitive and the thoughtful. Leaving out of account improbable heavens, he holds that the idealizing function of man must call for some fulfillment. "Avec ou sans certitude, lever les yeux c'est le propre de l'homme."

The doubts of this developed creed which I suggested a few pages back mean only that the poet has not finally fixed the individual in the cosmos. When that is done, we shall have no further need of philosophers, and every man can be his own poet. While waiting, in one and the other capacity, Sully Prudhomme may be commended to the youth of America as embodying in nobler fashion than many what it should be our chief "disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate"—the modern cultural ethos of Europe.

NOTES ON VICTOR HUGO'S VERSIFICATION

BY

HUGO P. THIEME

In reading through the complete poetical works of Victor Hugo one notices a number of violations of the rules of French verse. The first impression is of a colossal structure, the general appearance of which seems perfect, but on closer inspection slight flaws here and there may be detected, which do not, however, diminish the value of the whole. A full treatment of all the questions involved would require more space than could be allotted to this article. I have, therefore, confined myself to mentioning some of the more general features, and to a detailed study of one or two points.[1]

RHYME AND GENERAL VERSE-STRUCTURE.

1. One notices from the very beginning the recurrence of certain rhymes which grow very monotonous. These vary in different works. In the "Odes et Ballades" and some of his earliest lyric volumes such words as *gloire, victoire,* etc., are particularly noticeable. He ceases to use these as the nature of his subject changes. The combination *ombre—sombre,* with variations continues throughout his works. This frequent repetition to the point of monotony was undoubtedly one of the causes which induced modern poets to break completely with the traditional rules of rhyme and to develop the present tendencies which allow so much freedom.

[1] This study is based on the Hetzel, *Ne Varietur,* (12mo) edition. The few volumes thus far published in the Edition de l'Imprimerie Nationale have also been consulted.

2. An interesting study is that of Victor Hugo's use of foreign words in rhyme. He seemed to believe that any series of letters representing a certain sound in French must also represent the same in other languages. The pronunciation in many cases is wholly his own.

Examples: Harrison—prison; féal—White-Hall; banc—St.-Albans; Stachan—camp; pardon—Huntingdon: De Manning—du cinq; effort—Clifford; remplis—Willis; Cheapside—régicide; Glascow—au cou; Hobbe—aube; corset—water-closet; voyou—I love you; ad hoc—Grammadoch; des abus—codicibus; corrompus—habeas corpus; déchus—Jean Huss; taureau—Yungfrau; Rigi—rugi, etc.

3. In his earlier volumes there occur very few cases of overflow in which the rhyme has been weakened by the grammatical construction.

Examples: (noun in rhyme followed in the next line by preposition plus noun) l'enthousiasme . . . Du peuple; quel formidable . . . Epanouissement; dans un arrangement . . . De famille; (modal auxiliary plus infinitive, or auxiliary plus past participle) a pu . . . parler; peut-on . . . conserver; ne veut être . . . dit.

In such works as the *Légende des Siècles,* which have always enjoyed the reputation of being perfect in classical structure, there are about six per cent. of such lines. Whenever these occur with any frequency they are accompanied by a large percentage of romantic lines. The table of statistics will show the relative frequency.

4. Victor Hugo apparently did not guard against rhymes at the hemistich in any period of his career. He strictly followed the rules of the hemistich or cesura. I have found no case of mute *e* at the hemistich. Such words as: *si, une, jusqu'à, il, ils, vous, nous* (as subject or object), *est,* etc., are found occasionally.

5. In proportion as Victor Hugo became adept in writing Alexandrines and in marshalling words, and more busy with the thought expressed (usually personal opinions) than with

the technique of his verse, he became more and more negligent. This is noticeable:

a. In the large number of purely prose passages; *e. g., Légende,* IV, p. 226, pp. 248-251;

b. In the large number of lines in which the cacophony is more or less shocking; *e. g., Années Funestes,* p. 104:

> Il eût reforgé Rome; il eût mêlé l'exemple
> Du vieux sépulcre avec l'exemple du vieux temple.

c. In the lines in which the grammar is twisted to fit the technical demands: *e. g., Théâtre en Liberté,* p. 98:

> Il faut qu'elle soit haute assez pour sa voiture.
> Ah! quand il s'agit, l'homme étant aux vents jeté.

d. Beginning with his *Légende* Victor Hugo creates, invents, or introduces a line which seems to be unique in French verse, a line which it is difficult to define, but in which the noun or adjective at the hemistich is immediately followed by its adjective or noun; a line which invariably describes something mysterious, terrible, tragic, monstrous, or gloomy; *e. g.:*

> Et la difformité sublime des décombres.
> L'inhospitalité sinistre du fond noir.
> O semeur du sillon nebuleux, laboureur
> Perdu dans la fumée horrible de l'erreur.
> Quoique l'impénétrable énigme le vêtisse.

Such lines are found in large numbers in his later works. This style of line in its development has been of unusual interest.

6. In studying Victor Hugo's poetry with the object of determining the frequency of his use of the romantic line, much depends upon the individual interpretation. The writer has taken the following stand: no line has been classed or scanned as a romantic line if it is found in classical verse with any degree of frequency. By this method it has been possible to determine the real status of the romantic line in

Victor Hugo. An exhaustive scheme of elimination has been devised to make this feasible.

The appended table shows the works in chronological order, with the number of Alexandrines in each volume, the number of romantic lines with percentage for each work, and the number of cases of close overflow (defined above in § 3). The second table gives the same data with distribution according to the nature of the works: drama, lyric poetry, satire, etc. A detailed discussion, accompanied by full references, of the points so far brought up, will shortly follow the present study.

TABLE I.

Name.	No. of Lines.	Romantic.	%	Close Overflow.
Odes et Ballades.....	3800	41	.01	
Cromwell	6260	322	.05	7
Orientales	1550	52	.04	4
Hernani	2166	185	.08	33
Feuilles d'Automne.....	2065	77	.03	6
Roi S'Amuse.....	1662	113	.06	21
Chants du Crép.....	2219	79	.03	16
Esmeralda	112	4	.03	
Voix Intér.....	2048	103	.05	14
Marion de Lorme.....	2025	141	.06	117
Ruy Blas.....	2250	168	.07	94
Rayons et Ombres.....	2444	78	.03	34
Burgraves	1885	115	.06	80
Châtiments	5167	280	.05	141
Contemplations I.....	3370	173	.05	127
" II.....	4430	179	.04	39
Légendes des S. I.....	5400	359	.06	189
Paris	826	33	.04	16
Actes et Paroles '70-71..	411	17	.04	2
" " '71-'76..	240	20	.08	3
Année Terrible.....	6050	325	.05	63
Légende des S. II.....	7000	242	.03	62
" III.....	4600	212	.04	39
Religions. L'Ane	4500	185	.04	60
Art d'Etre Gr.-Père.....	3120	162	.05	45

Quatre Vents de l'Es. I..	4100	160	.03	79	
" " " II..	2550	89	.04	21	
Torquemada	2150	94	.04	53	
Légende des S. IV.....	5300	303	.05	137	
Théâtre en Liberté.....	3800	266	.07	85	
Années Funestes.....	2600	190	.07	50	
Dieu	5100	345	.06	66	
Jumeaux	1450	32	.03	16	
Toute la Lyre I.....	3650	226	.06	31	
" " " II.....	2550	161	.07	33	
" " " III.....	2600	197	.07	35	
Fin de Satan.....	5300	335	.06	62	
Pape. Pitié Supr.....	3050	213	.06	34	
Total,	119,800	6198	.05	1814	.01

TABLE II.

Lyric.

Name.	No. of Lines.	Romantic.	%	Close Overflow.	%
Odes et Ballades.....	3800	41	.01		
Orientales	1550	52	.04	4	.003
Feuilles d'Aut.....	2065	77	.03	6	.002
Chants du Crép.....	2219	79	.03	16	.007
Voix Intér.....	2048	103	.05	14	.006
Rayons et Om.....	2444	78	.03	34	.01
Contempl. I.....	3370	173	.05	127	.03
" II.....	4430	179	.05	39	.008
Légende, I.....	5400	359	.06	189	.03
" II.....	7000	242	.03	62	.009
" III.....	4600	212	.04	39	.008
Art d'Etre Gr.-Père.....	3120	162	.05	45	.01
Quatre Vents I.....	4100	160	.03	79	.01
" " II.....	2550	89	.04	21	.008
Légende, IV.....	5300	303	.05	137	.02
Toute la Lyre, I.....	3650	226	.06	31	.008
" " " II.....	2550	161	.07	33	.01
" " " III.....	2600	197	.07	35	.01
Fin de Satan.....	5300	335	.06	62	.01
Total	68,096	3228	.047	973	.01

Drama.

Cromwell	6260	312	.05	7	.001
Hernani	2166	185	.08	33	.01
Roi S'Amuse	1662	113	.06	21	.01
Esmeralda	112	4	.03		
Marion de L	2025	141	.06	117	.05
Ruy Blas	2250	168	.07	94	.04
Burgraves	1885	115	.06	80	.04
Torquemada	2150	94	.04	53	.02
Théâtre en Lib	3800	266	.07	85	.02
Jumeaux	1450	32	.03	16	.01
Total	23760	1430	.06	506	.02

Satiric, etc.

Châtiments	5167	280	.05	141	.02
Paris	826	33	.04	16	.01
Religions. L'Ane	4500	185	.04	60	.01
Actes et P	411	17	.04	2	.004
" "	240	20	.08	3	.01
Année Ter	6050	325	.05	63	.01
Années Fun	2600	190	.07	50	.02
Dieu	5100	345	.06	66	.01
Pape. Pitié S	3050	213	.06	34	.01
Total	27,930	1708	.06	435	.01

Verse Measure.

As far as the writer has been able to ascertain no attention has heretofore been called to the occurrence of lines of 13, 11, or 10 syllables in Victor Hugo's Alexandrines. In the Hetzel edition there are a considerable number of printer's errors and some of these give lines of 13 or 11 syllables. In the Edition de l'Imprimerie Nationale some of these errors have been corrected or changed, but unfortunately without a statement of the authority. But, apart from these typo-

graphical variations, there are a number of irregular verses attributable to Victor Hugo.

I. Thirteen Syllable Lines.

A. *Assured cases.*

In the following lines there seems to be no doubt as to thirteen syllables:

1. *Cromwell,* Acte II, Scene x, p. 132:

> Surtout ne m'interromps pas!
> Tous ces airs-là, mon cher.

2. *Légende,* I, *Aymerillot,* p. 225:

> Comte, ce bon duc Naymes expire de vieillesse.[1]

3. *Théâtre en Liberté,* L'Epée, fin de la Scène II; III, p. 78-79:

> Slagistri!
> L'homme a le droit de toucher au cadran.

4. *Dieu, L'Ange,* p. 188:

> Brigands que la nuit cache dans son vaste recel.

5. *Pitié Suprême,* VIII, p. 123:

> Les maudits ont besoin de têtes inclinées
> Sur eux, sur leurs mystères et sur leurs destinées.[2]

[1] Naymes occurs in two other lines and in both cases the *s* is retained. The line reads the same in the Imp. Nat. edition.

[2] Compare, in this connection: *Toute la Lyre,* III, *La Corde d'Airain,* VIII, p. 156:

> Désirant tuer seulement qui leur déplaît.

This poem was written in 1871 and the line which is probably the first example of an overflowing or run-over cesura found in

B. *Lines corrected in the Edition de l'Imprim. Nat.*

1. *Les Contemplations,* I, *La Vie aux Champs,* p. 18:

> Mais le doux rire honnête ouvrant bouches et cœurs,
> Qui montr*ent* en même temps des âmes et des perles.[3]

2. *Légende,* II, *Les Quatre Jours d'Elciis,* p. 230:

> Donc, viatique, psau*mes* et vêpres, scapulaires.[4]

3. *Légende,* III, *La Rose de l'Infante,* p. 46:

> Et le lugubre roi sourit de voir groupées
> Sur quatre cents *navires* quatrevingt mille épées.[5]

C. *Doubtful Cases.*

1. In the following line *ruine* must be counted as dissyllabic. The word occurs more than fifty times and in every other case is trisyllabic.

Les Rayons et les Ombres, Le 7 Août 1829, p. 29:

> O palais, sois béni, soyez bénie, ô ruine.[6]

French poetry, has undoubtedly served as a type for the many lines of the same structure found in de Banville and Verlaine. It has the required number of syllables.

[3] Imp. Nat. *montre.* [4] Imp. Nat. *psaume.*

[5] Imp. Nat. *vaissaux.*

[6] In the same work, pp. 27, 45, 202, 212, 223:

> Hélas, s'attache aux rois comme à toute ruine.
> Car la ruine même autour de sa tristesse.
> Sent qu'il n'est déjà plus qu'une tombe en ruine.
> Le nid qui jase au fond du cloître ruiné.
> Cette mousse qui pend aux siècles ruinés.

Les Burgraves, p. 88, 98:

> Vas-tu, sur ce donjon que tu dois ruiner.
> Sont dispersés sans doute au vent de ma ruine.

2. In the following line "pion" is used as a monosyllable. Nouns in *-ion* are elsewhere dissyllabic.

Art d'Etre Grand-père, Aux Enfants Gâtés, p. 170:

> Quand, ainsi qu'on remue un pion sur l'échiquier.

3. The following lines, if read according to the text, contain thirteen syllables, but in each a slight change gives the required number of syllables:

Chants du Crépuscule, p. 111:

> Vent fatal qui confond les meilleu*res* et les pires.[7]

Esmeralda, p. 158:

> Enfants! pas de querelle*s,* aujourd'hui tout est joie.[8]

Ruy Blas, p. 167:

> Rien! pas d'ar*mes*! Une épée au moins! Marquis tu railles.[9]

Les Rayons et les Ombres, p. 159:

> Par eux-mê*mes* amené dans l'ornière ou nous sommes.[10]

La Légende, I, p. 279, 285:

> Je sois vaincu, détruit, aboli, ruiné.
> La ruine est promise à tout ce qui s'élève.

Other examples may be found as follows, all showing the dissyllabic use of *ruine:*

Paris, pp. 138, 144-6-7-8-9, 152, 161. *Année Terrible,* pp. 107, 131, 252, 262-3, 281. *Légende,* II, pp. 59, 67, 153, 168, 285; III, pp. 21, 47, 82, 241. *Religions,* pp. 99, 110. *Art d'Etre Grand-père,* p. 72. *Quatre Vents,* I, pp. 192, 256; II, pp. 11, 220, 237. *Jumeaux,* pp. 162, 184, 193, 240. *Années Funestes,* pp. 6, 169. *Légende,* IV, p. 55. *Théâtre en Liberté,* p. 178. *Toute la Lyre,* I, pp. 48, 147, 243; II, pp. 80, 191.

[7] Read *meilleurs.*

[8] Read *querelle.*

[9] Read *arme.*

[10] *eux-même;* the same change in *Toute la Lyre,* I, p. 207:

> D'ouvrir la porte eux-même(s) aux colères en bas.

Légende, III, p. 200:

Aiguilles, pics de nei*ges* et cimes souveraines.[11]

II. Eleven-Syllable Lines.

A. Assured Cases.

1. *Esmeralda,* Acte IV, Scène I, p. 180;

Etes-vous prête?
A quoi?
Prête à mourir.
Oui.

2. *Les Contemplations,* I, *A propos d'Horace,* p. 41:

Ces diacres, ces bedeaux dont le groin renifle.

3. *Religions,* Conclusion, p. 71:

Qui n'est pas lui, m'indigne, et n'a pas droit d'être.

4. *Torquemada,* Acte II, Scène II, p. 122:

Et madame, aux pieds de vos altesses. Soit.

5. *Les Années Funestes,* XXXIII, p. 88:

Le monde, ainsi aux temps de Claude et Comène.

B. Lines corrected in the Edition de l'Imprim. Nat.

1. *Marion de Lorme,* Acte V, Scène VII, p. 189:

Avoir fait ton malheur, va, c'est un grand remord.
Ne me laisse pas, pardonne-moi, Marie![12]

2. *La Légende,* I, *Montfaucon,* p. 171:

Quel est le moyen de régner? dit Philippe.[13]

[11] Read *neige.*

[12] Imp. Nat. *Ne me le laisse pas.*

[13] Imp. Nat. *Quel est le moyen donc.* Victor Hugo never used *moyen* except as a word of two syllables.

C. Doubtful Cases.

1. *Légende,* II, *Welf,* p. 201:

> Ouvre-moi. Je suis roi d'Ar*le* aux verts coteaux.[14]

2. *Légende,* II, *Les Catastrophes,* p. 241:

> Seule utile lueur qui sort du despote.[15]

III. Ten-Syllable Lines.

The following two ten-syllable lines are found in *L'Art d'Etre Grand-père:*

1. *L'Art d'Etre Grand-père:* Printemps, p. 24:

> J'entends dans le jardin les enfants rire.

2. *L'Art d'Etre Grand-père:* Un Manque, p. 27:

> Dans l'admiration de ces jolis doigts roses,
> Leur compare, en toutes sortes de choses,
> Ses grosses mains à lui. . . .

IV. Words used as Monosyllables or Dissyllables.

A. Such words as *hier, diable* have always been used by poets both as monosyllables and as dissyllables. The following words have generally a definite value, but in Victor Hugo they are found as monosyllables or dissyllables:

1. "*août.*"

> Le quatorze juillet, le dix août, ces journées (1),
> *Actes* (1871-76), p. 82.

[14] Arle may be written Arl*es, e. g.,* p. 202:

> Arles t'attend. Je t'offre en ma ville latine.

[15] The subjunctive "sorte" is undoubtedly the correct form and is the one found in the Ed. de l'Imp. Nat.

Or, en juin, la Lusace, en août, les Moraves (2),
Légende, II, p. 66.
C'était le sept août, ô sombre destinée! (2),
Les Rayons, p. 23.

2. "*Juan.*"

Et voilà que don Juan pétrifié pâlit (1),
Contemplations, I, p. 29.
D'Eve au cloître, et que fuir don Juan dans Origène (1),
Religions, p. 113.
Fait toute la grandeur de don Juan athée (2),
Quatre Vents, II, p. 194.
Et don Juan!—C'est Dante et Béatrix!—Le lierre (2),
Légende, IV, p. 20.

3. "*jaguar.*"

Le mandrille au jaguar, le perroquet à l'aigle (1),
Art d'Etre . . ., p. 47.
Aux jaguars, aux lynx, aux tigres des forêts (2),
Légende, II, p. 224.

4. "*miasme.*"

Comment le parfum pur devint miasme fétide (1),
Légende, III, p. 16.
Mêlé dans leur sépulcre au miasme insalubre (2), *Ib.*, p. 116.

5. "*moelle.*"

Trouve peu d'os à moelle et peu d'auteurs à sève (1),
Religions, p. 103.
Le sang profond du cœur, la moelle des os (2),
Année Terrible, p. 241.

6. "*ruisseau.*"

Océan aux ruisseaux et soleil aux planètes (1),
Année Ter., p. 190.
Comme au sombre océan arrive tout ruisseau (1),
Légende, IV, p. 125.
Comme un ruisseau vil est pire qu'un torrent (2),
Année Ter., p. 25.

B. Trisyllabic words used as dissyllables:

1. "*luncheon.*"

Devant les grecs faisant, dans un luncheon nocturne,
Religions, p. 28.

2. "*prairials.*"

Après ces messidors, ces prairials, ces frimaires,
Châtiments, p. 117.

V. Hiatus (Mute *e* + *oui* or a Vowel).

In the following list of examples it will readily be seen from the variety of cases that mute *e* + *oui* or a vowel counts as one or two syllables.

A. *Mute e + oui = two syllables.*

Monsieur! Wilmot devrait mourir de honte, oui, *Cromwell*, p. 68.
Une auréole. Oui, de la couleur du sang, *Ib.*, p. 253.
Comment as-tu besoin qu'on te réponde: oui? *Ib.*, p. 286.
Qui n'ose dire non et ne peut dire oui, *Voix Intér.*, p. 187.
Libre? Oui . . . Prenez-moi pour frère, pour appui,
Marion de Lorme, p. 15.
Ah! malheureuse. Oui, malheureuse, en effet, *Ib.*, p. 110.
Soyons l'immense Oui (6 syl. line), *Contemplations*, II, p. 160.
Entendra ce tombeau dire à voix haute: Oui, *Année Terrible*, p. 13.
Tu viens d'incendier la Bibliothèque? Oui. *Ib.*, p. 220.
Non aux basques de Oui toujours se suspendit, *Religions*, p. 159.
Un petit prince est-il un petit homme? Oui.
Art d'Etre Grand-père, p. 159.
Etes-vous sombre? Oui, vous l'êtes (8 syl. line), *Ib.*, p. 176.
Qui pourrait dire non? Qui pourrait dire Oui, *Quatre Vents*, p. 211.
Vraiment? Connaissez-vous son écriture? Oui, *Jumeaux*, p. 186-7.
Suis-je un homme? Ai-je un nom? Seul je peux dire Oui,
Ib., p. 221.
C'est qu'on me pilera sans que je dise Oui *Ib.*, p. 224.
Notre voisine? Oui. Va chez elle. Avec toi, *Légende*, III, p. 199.
Ici, spectre! Viens là que je te parle. Oui, *Années Funestes*, p. 28.
Dieu vit. Le Oui du jour et le Non de la nuit, *Dieu*, p. 171.
Du vrai, le oui du non, le rayon de la foudre,
Toute la Lyre, I, p. 266.
Dieu! Rêve! Oui finit par ressembler à non, *Ib.*, III, p. 123.
Il se dit par moments: C'est moi qui marche; oui, *Ib.*, III, p. 200.

B. *Mute e + oui = one syllable.*

De l'apocalypse. Oui. Cromwell sur notre tête, *Cromwell*, p. 345.
Doña Sol de Silva? parle. Oui.—Pourquoi? Pour rien,
Hernani, p. 12.
Vous êtes donc le diable? Oui, duègne. Entrez ici, *Ib.*, p. 14.
O Marion de Lorme! Oui! La beauté du jour,
Marion de Lorme, p. 27.
Il est temps de dormir, madame, Oui, c'est notre heure, *Ib.*, p. 33.
Deux mots. A l'épée? Oui. Veux-tu le pistolet, *Ib.*, p. 46.
De renoncer au duel? Mais c'est très sage. Oui, mais, *Ib.*, p. 52.
Il fait grace? Oui, le roi. Mais non le cardinal, *Ib.*, p. 62.
De la Rochelle. Oui, da! J'approuve le saint siège, *Ib.*, p. 123.
Je vous la rends. Vraiment! une épée! Oui, ma foi, *Ib.*, p. 150.
Ma femme! Oui, votre femme! Allons, je n'en suis pas,
Ruy Blas, p. 144.
Ma joie! Oui, je saurai terminer mon courage, *Burgraves*, p. 67.
C'est horrible, oui, brigand, jacobin, malandrin, *Contempl.*, I, p. 67.
De charrue? Oui, je veux creuser le noir limon, *Ib.*, p. 202.
Voilà ce que m'offrit l'histoire. Oui, c'est cruel, *Ib.*, II, p. 59.
Bonhomme.—Oui, je sais bien, parce que j'ai des membres,
Légende, I, p. 72.
Et ces dieux ont raison. Phtos écume. Oui, dit-il, *Ib.*, p. 87.
Prêtre! Oui, je suis athée à ce vieux bon Dieu-là, *Année Ter.*, p. 68.
Dit Jorge. Oui, s'il revient? dit Materno l'Hyène,
Légende, II, p. 37.
Un pauvre oui. Jamais roi dans sa coupe ne but, *Ib.*, p. 196.
Dit l'âne. Oui. C'est mon nom et je l'ai mérité, *Religions*, p. 79.[16]

C. *Miscellaneous Examples.*

Chassons-l*e!* Arrière tous! il faut que j'entretienne,
Cromwell, p. 129.
Puisqu'il s'agit de hache ici, que *H*ernani, *Hernani*, p. 172.
Votre père *H*enri, de mémoire royale, *Marion*, p. 136.
Qu'après tout on est fils *d'H*enri quatre, et Bourbon, *Id.*, p. 137.

[16] Further examples may be found as follows: *Quatre Vents*, pp. 181, 196, 207, 242, 243, 250; *Torquemada*, 20, 26, 33, 152; *Jumeaux*, 218, 222; *Théâtre en Liberté*, 34, 61, 88, 130, 137, 167, 180, 214; *Années Funestes*, 57, 67, 110; *Dieu*, 178.

Ce Gaspard? Ce Didier? Je crois q*u'*oui. Les derniers,
Marion, p. 146.
Ciel! Qu'as-tu répondu? J'ai dit qu*e* oui, mon maître,
Ruy Blas, p. 150.
O libr*e* *H*offmann, planant dans les rêves fougueux,
Religions, p. 118.

VI. *Que* and *ce* in Stressed Position.

Aside from these irregularities or licenses which have done so much to pave the way for the modern tendencies in French verse, there are lines which pointed out to the younger poets new possibilities in the division of the Alexandrine. The romantic divisions of which 444, 453, 345, 534 are the most common, are now well known and practised, more or less, by all poets.

To place a mute *e* in the stress or "coupe," thus giving it the value of any other vowel, had not been done before. Thus, when we meet lines in which "*que*" or "*ce*" are in a stressed position, we have practically every liberty demanded by modern poets. The Alexandrine is now reduced to twelve syllables with no restriction in the interior of the line. The following lines are very unusual and interesting from the technical structural point of view:

C'est qu'il est un des cœurs *que*, déjà sous les cieux,
Voix Intér., p. 137.
Hélas! de quelque nom *que*, broyé sous l'essieux, *Ib.*, p. 220.
N'est-ce donc pas assez *que*, soldats et finance, *Marion*, p. 45.
Sur *ce*, faisons la soupe, et repassons nos rôles, *Ib.*, p. 80.
Un des jeunes seigneurs *que*, de cette fenêtre, *Ruy Blas*, p. 34.
A la reine. Un seigneur *que*, de la part du roi, *Ib.*, p. 67.
Donne donc à ta ville, ami, ce grand exemple
Que, si les marchands vils n'entrent pas dans le temple,
Rayons, p. 132.
Pour *que*, puisant la vie au grand centre commun, *Ib.*, p. 172.
Que, l'épée à la main, seul, brisant une porte, *Burgraves*, p. 88.
Magistrats! maintenant *que*, reprenant du cœur, *Châtiments*, p. 15.
Va, maudit! ce boulet *que*, dans les temps stoïques, *Ib.*, p. 34.
Sur *ce*, les charlatans prêchent leur auditoire, *Ib.*, p. 274.

Frémissent. C'est ainsi *que*, paisible et superbe, *Ib.*, p. 318.
Et, sur *ce*, les pédants en chœur disent: amen, *Contempl.*, I, p. 66.
Ces hydres *que*, le jour, on appelle des arbres, *Ib.*, II, p. 151.
Depuis quatre mille ans *que*, courbé sous la haine, *Ib.*, II, p. 190.
Du parapluie, afin *que*, s'il tombe trop d'eau, *Quatre Vents*, I, p. 206.

When we consider the number of Alexandrines written by Victor Hugo and the conditions under which he often wrote, as well the nature of the subjects, and note from the table of statistics the relative rarity of irregularities, we realize that his technical art was and will remain the model for the French poets of the future.

NOTES ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF "BACHELIER"

BY

WILLIAM A. STOWELL

Bachelier, Old French *bacheler,* is usually supposed to go back to a Folk-Latin *baccalaris,* of which I know no occurrence. There are, however, in South-French cartularies, numerous examples of a form *baccalarius,* a term applied to certain peasants, and of a form *baccalaria,* referring to a kind of landed tenure. Schéler's suggestion [1] that *bachelier* may perhaps be related to Latin *vacca* through a derived form applied to property connected in some way with cattle has not met with general acceptance, on account both of the phonetic obstacle offered by the initial sound of the word, and of the absence of a demonstration of the semasiological filiation; yet no other etymon has been proposed which offers greater claims to favor, so that the general opinion of scholars seems to accord with the statement of the *Dictionnaire général* [2] that the origin of the word is uncertain. It may therefore be useful to assemble the examples of the Latin words, and

[1] *Dict. d'étymologie fr., s. v. bachelier.* This derivation is already proposed in the first edition (1862), and is still maintained in the third (1888); it is referred to by Murray, *N. E. D., s. v.* bachelor. Körting, in the third edition of his *Wörterbuch der rom. Spr.* (1907), no. 1134, still looks on this etymology as at best a *pis aller,* but in the *Wörterbuch der frz. Spr.* (1908), *s. v.* bachelier, he has adopted it, and posits for *baccalarius* the successive meanings: owner of a cow; small peasant proprietor; young peasant; youth.

[2] *s. v.* bachelier. Those who have made serious attempts to explain the word without recurring to *vacca* would connect it with the Celtic, but no satisfactory Celtic etymon has been suggested. See Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches,* Halle, 1884, pp. 38-39.

to see whether the context and the geographical distribution of the material cast any light on their disputed meanings and on their possible connection with *bachelier*.

So far as I know, the list which follows includes all examples that have been found of *baccalaria* (a tenure), and examples of *baccalarius, baccalaria* (adjective or substantive used of persons) from the only texts known to contain the word. The passages preceded by an asterisk have not to my knowledge been previously referred to in this connection.[3]

I. Baccalaria, a Form of Feudal Real-Estate

(1) Ego, Godefredus, . . . comes, . . . cedo . . . ad monasterium . . . curtem meam indominicatam, quae vocatur Igeracus, cum ecclesia in honore S. Martini constructa, et baccalariis indominicatis, et mansis servilibus: mansum unum, ubi Ricuinus manet, mansum ubi Ingilbertus manet, mansum ubi Ictarius manet, *etc.*

Cartulaire de Beaulieu, ch. 3, p. 10 (A. D. 866).

(2) Cedimus . . . ecclesiam nostram . . . cum ipsa bacallaria . . . et cum ipsa vinea quae est in Blandina.

Ibid., ch. 171, p. 238 (A. D. 877).

(3) Nos, . . . Sicardus et uxor mea, . . . cedimus . . . ecclesiam nostram . . . cum curte, et orto, et exitu, et viridario, et cum ipsa baccalaria integra quae ibidem pertinent. Et . . . illum mansum integrum ubi Bertemarus servus noster visus est manere . . . et alium integrum mansum ubi Sicardus visus est manere, . . . Hos mansos constructos cum curtibus et ortis et exitibus, cum viridariis, cum campis, pratis, pascuis, adjacentiis, silvis, sepibus, cum exitibus et regressibus, viis, aquis, aquarumve decursibus, cultos sive incultos quaesitos vel quod adquirendum est, omnia et ex omnibus, quantumcumque ad ipsam ecclesiam una cum ipsa baccalaria, et ad ipsos mansos adspicit . . . cedimus.

Ibid., ch. 17, p. 40 (A. D. 879-884).

(4) Cedo . . . villam meam, . . . cum ipsa bacallaria seu cum ipsis mansis: mansum ubi Golfardus visus est manere; mansum ubi Garardus manet, *etc.*

Ibid., ch. 152, p. 210 (A. D. 891).

[3] The cartularies referred to in this paper have all been published. Specific references to the editions will be found in the *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français* par Henri Stein. Paris, 1907.

(5) Cedo . . . mansum ubi Ermenricus manet, cum ipsa vinea mea dominicaria, . . . et alium mansum ubi Magnolenus visus est manere; in eodem loco bacallaria mea indominicaria; et ipsi mansi vel ipsa bacallaria est in loco quae dicitur Vadecia.

Ibid., ch. 63, p. 112 (A. D. 893).

(6) Cedimus . . . ecclesiam nostram . . . cum ipsa bacallaria, et mansis ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentibus: mansum ubi Arlaldus visus est manere, . . . et alium mansum ubi Germanus visus est manere. . . Cedimus etiam casam nostram dominicariam, cum ipsa bacallaria, cum pratis, silvis, molendinis, *etc.*

Ibid., ch. 52, p. 95 (A. D. 895).

(7) Cedo . . . curtem meam . . . cum casa mea dominicaria, ubi ego ipse praesenti tempore visus sum manere, cum verdiariis et pratis dominicis, et cum ipsa bacallaria, qui est in pago Limovicino, et . . . mansum ubi Adalricus visus est manere.

Ibid., ch. 147, p. 202 (A. D. 916).

(8) Cedimus ad monasterium . . . capella nostra, quae est fundata in honorem S. Petri, cum ipsa baccalaria indominicata, cum ipso prato, et cum ipso brolio indominicato, et cum ipso manso qui est de ipsa capella, ipsum mansum ubi Avidus visus est manere, et alium mansum ubi Benjamin visus est manere, . . . et alium mansum ubi Amardus visus est manere, ipsa capella, cum ipsis mansis supradictis, cum terris cultis et incultis, et cum ipsa plantada, pratis, silvis, aquis, *etc.*

Ibid., ch. 38, p. 72 (A. D. 926).

(9) Cedimus . . . casam indominicatam ubi ipse Uguo visus fuit manere, cum ipso bosco vel cum alio brolio, cum ipsa bacallaria, cum ipsis vineis prope adhaerentibus, cum pratis, aquis, aquarumve decursibus, cum molendino, cum manso ubi Leoterius manet; et alium mansum quem Ademarus tenet.

Ibid., ch. 109, p. 162 (A. D. 968).

(10) Baccalariam meam de Camairaco dimitto Deo . . . ita ut corpus meam sepeliatur, si ad ipsum locum portatus fuero.

Ibid., ch. 95, p. 148 (After 1000).

(11) Dimitto . . . medietatem de bacallaria de Monte Catfredo.

Ibid., ch. 62, p. 111 (XI or XII cy.).

(12) In the same cartulary, ch. 101 ("Brevem de exemptis quae vicarii de Favars habent in terra S. Petri"), the concluding passage is: De terris vero absis, si homo adiquid fecerit, judex recipiat quod exierit, et, si censum solvere voluerit vicariis, recipiant, et, si reddere noluerit censum, reddit illis tertiam partem de hoc quod

de terra exitum fuerit, et Beato Petri duas. In illis rusticis ubi quaerere solent opera, habent unam diem cum bovibus de illis hominibus qui boves habuerint, quamdiu baccalariam facerint, et non plus. Si battalia aut judicium fermaverint cum aliquo, et si propter hoc redemptionem dederint, non habeat partem vicarius nec judex. Si sacramentum fermaverint cum lege, et redemptionem dederint, tertiam partem illis reddant.

Ibid., ch. 101, p. 155 (XII cy.).

*(13) Iste Godafredus comes, filius Radulfi comitis, . . . dedit . . . villam suam, cum ecclesia S. Martini, cum baccalariis, et quinque mansis servilibus.

Ibid., ch. 193, p. 270 (Date: ?).

*(14) Cedimus . . . tres mansos et duas bordarias in villa . . . et villam nostram quae dicitur Belna, domum scilicet propriam, cum baccalaria, pratis.

Cartulaire de Tulle, ch. 124 (A. D. c925).

(15) Medietatem de ipsa curte et ipsum castellum, cum baccalaria dominicaria, et duos mansos.

Will of St. Géraud d'Aurillac; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXXIII, col. 672 (A. D. 999).

(16) Breve de comunia sancti Salvatoris de Concas. . . A Bellomonte, aecclesia cum mansos XIIII vel cum bacallarias.

Cartulaire de Conques, ch. 478 (XI or XII cy.).

(17) Dono quoque in villa de Belne duos mansos . . . cum omnibus que ad ipsos mansos pertinent: sunt etiam due appendarie cum omnibus que ad ipsos respiciunt; est dimidia appendaria que vocatur Trelia, cum omnibus que ad ipsam medietatem respiciunt; dono etiam bacallariam que est in ipsa villa, cum campis et vineis et omnibus que ad ipsum abodum pertinent.

Cartulaire de Sauxillanges, ch. 400 (Date: ?).[4]

[4] In certain cartularies (*La*) *Baccalaria* occurs as the name of a place. I give here citations from every text in which I have found occurrences of this use.

*(1) Galterius de La Bachalaria et frater meus Aimericus, d[amus] dimidium mansum in villa La Bachalaria. (Foot-note: "La Bachellerie, 26 habit. Salon").

Cartulaire d'Uzerche, ch. 209 (X cy.).

*(2) Petrus de Noalius . . . dedit . . . , in manso Petri Radulfi de la Bachalaria, quatuordecim sextaria siliginis, quinque avenae.

II. Baccalarius, Baccalaria, Adjective or Substantive applied to Persons

In an enumeration of the domains possessed by the abbey of St. Victor of Marseilles, made during the bishopric of Vuadalde, 813-818, the following and other similar mentions occur:

(1) Colonica in Campania. Stephanus, colonus. Uxor Dara. Dominicus, filius baccalarius. Martina, filia baccalaria. Vera, filia annorum XV. Ermesindis, filia annorum VII. Aprilis, presbiter.

Marseille: *Cartulaire de St.-Victor*, vol. II, p. 633.

(Cf. p. 519, *Table fr.*, which says that this is La Bachèlerie in St.-Germ.-les-Ver.)

Ibid., ch. 998 (A. D. 1096).

*(3) Damus . . . in villa de Chambaret . . . mansum del Chastenet de Fillis, mansum Donet de Cuus, quartam partem de vineis de La Bachelaria.

Ibid., ch. 481 (A. D. c1107).

*(4) In manso La Terrassa, quinque solidos; in manso La Bachalaria, viginti solidos. (Cf. p. 519, *Table fr.*, which says that this is La Bachèlerie, Salon.)

Ibid., ch. 1022 (CXIII cy.)

*(5) Geraldus Stephanus dedit . . . duodecim denarios quos dedit Petrus Aimoinius in manso de La Baccalaria.

Cartulaire de Tulle, ch. 247 (A. D. c1104).

*(6) Bordaria Duranni de la Grelleira, in martio, IIII den. Bordaria della Bachallaria. Bordaria della Poncharia Alegre, in martio, IIII den.; in augusto, I sext. vini, et asinum.

Cartulaire de Vigeois, ch. 162, p. 118 (A. D. 1108-1110).

*(7) Do etiam bordariam de La Bachallaria totum quod habeo vel alii per me.

Ibid., ch. 172 (A. D. 1108-1110).

*(8) Excepta bordaria Stephani Willelmi quam ipse tenet et bordaria La Bachallaria.

Ibid., ch. 341 (A. D. 1165-1171).

*(9) Froterius . . . dimisit . . . III mansos et unam bordariam

(2) Inibi, colonica in Nono. Gisefredus, colonus. Justinianus, ad requirendum. Murtesinda, filia baccalaria. Donatus, ad requirendum. Godobertus, baccalarius.

Ibid., p. 633.

(3) Colonica in Cenazello. Dructaldus, accola, uxore extranea. Dructomus, filius. Dutberta, filia baccalaria. Drueterigus, filius ad scola.

Ibid., p. 637.

(4) Colonica in Asaler. Candidus, colonus. Uxor Dominica. Celsus, filius, ad requirendum. Mariberta, filia baccalaria . . . Gennarius, filius, vervecarius.

Ibid., p. 637.

(5) Colonica inibi. Colonus, Martinus. Uxor Primovera. Felicis, filius baccalarius. Deidonus, filius baccalarius. Leobertga, filia baccalaria. Martina, filia annorum V. Infans ad uber.

Ibid., p. 637.

(6) Colonica ad Ulmes. Fulcomares . . . Uxor Vuteria. Radebodus, filius baccalarius. Dominicus, filius baccalarius. Dominildis, filia baccalaria. Fulcorad, annorum VI. Beto, filius

---

et in Bachallaria tres bordarias et in villa de Anglars IIII mansos.

Ibid., ch. 10 (Date: ?).

*(10) In villa que vocatur la Bachalaria, in manso qui vocatur li Roures. (Foot-note: "Bachellerie, village sur la Briance, . . . commune de St.-Hilaire.")

Cartulaire d'Aureil, ch. 282 (Before 1140).

*(11) Hoc est feudum presbiterale de ecclesia Sancti Juliani de Larunt: mansum de fonte Arnaldi, mansum de Bachalaria; *etc.* (Foot-note: "St.-Julien-le Petit, commune du canton d'Eymoutiers.")

Ibid., ch. 303 (Before 1140).

(12) Ego Rodbertus filius Rodberti Isalgari et Stephanie dono . . . fevum et vindemiam mei mansi de Bacallaria qui est in villa Deuslet. (Cf. *Table gén.*, s. v. Bacallaria, which locates this as a dependency of Valuéjol, dep. of Cantal).

Cartulaire de Conques, ch. 396 (A. D. 1065-1087).

(13) Turpin, bishop of Limoges, is quoted by Bernard de Guy as saying: Villam quae vocatur Baccalaria, quae decem in se mansos continere probatur.

Philippe Labbe, *Nov. Bibl.* Mss., II, 278; cited by Deloche.

annorum V. Ingomares, filius annorum III. Romildis, filia annorum II.

Ibid., p. 639.

(7) Colonica in Cassaneto. Teobertus, colonus. Uxor Natalia. Teoberta, filia annorum V. Offrasia, annorum IIII . . . Magincus, baccalarius. Rodolandus, baccalarius. Rodofredus, clericus.

Ibid., p. 640.

(8) Colonica in Mairolas. Rodolfus, mancipium. Uxor Fromuldis. Aulildis, filia annorum X. Rocara, filia annorum VIII. Dadebertus, baccalarius.

Ibid., p. 640.

(9) Colonica in Primo Capa. Giso, mancipium. Uxor Muscula. Adaltrudis, filia baccalaria. Ermentrudis, filia baccalaria. Tomas, filius ad scola. Ilius, filius annorum VIII. Arsinda, annorum V . . . Ermesindis, cum infantes suos. Dominici, verbecarius. Maurobertus, mancipium. Uxor Superantia. Mauregotus, filius baccalarius. Scaemenus, baccalarius.

Ibid., p. 642.

(10) Colonica in Caladio indominicada. Onoratus, ad requirendum. Vuideratus, baccalarius Bertefredus. Uxor Florentia. Inga, filia annorum X. Emnildis, filia annorum V. Dominica, filia annorum III. Joanna, filia annorum III. Infans ad uber.

Ibid., p. 647.

The following occurs in the *Usages de Barcelone*:[5]

(11) Sacramenta rustici qui teneat mansum e⁺ laboret cum pare boum sint credenda usque ad VII solidos platae. De aliis namque rusticis qui dicuntur bacallarii, credantur sacramenta usque ad IV mancusos auri valencie.[6] Deinde quidquid jurent per examen caldarie demonstrent.

(A. D. 1068?).

---

[5] Ch. Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit français au moyen âge.* Paris, 1846, vol. II, p. 474. The passage cited constitutes §§ 52-53 of Giraud's text of the *Usatici Barchinone Patrie.* Cited by Du Cange as from *Usatici Barchinonenses,* cap. 46.

[6] The table of moneys given in the *Usages,* § 141 (Giraud, II, 495) shows that a silver *solidus* had the value of one gold *mancusus* and a half.

The context of the examples cited above for *baccalaria* throws very incomplete light on the meaning of the word, but its constant recurrence to indicate some subordinate portion of a country property, inventoried side by side with chapels, servants' quarters, gardens, orchards, vineyards, meadows, groves, thickets, and the like, renders manifest that it was some form of farm dependency.[7]

Baccalarius, baccalaria, as an adjective or substantive applied to persons, is employed in enumerations of peasants, and stands (after the names of married couples and either alone or in conjunction with *filius, filia*) in contrast with adults and with children of all ages from infancy up to and including fifteen years. It is also used in contrast with unqualified *filius, filia.* The conclusion seems natural that the unqualified *filius, filia* had reference to an adult son, daughter, while (*filius*) *baccalarius,* (*filia*) *baccalaria,* referred to the children over fifteen years old but not yet mature, to the adolescents. The passages found all occur in one ninth-century text and clearly accord with this interpretation, with the exception of the example (II, 11) occurring two centuries later in the document from Barcelona. Here the *baccalarius* is mentioned as a type of rustic whose oath is counted as of less value than that of certain specific small proprietors. This might seem to indicate that at the later period the term had come to be applied to the tenants of an exceedingly unimportant fief—a meaning not impossible of

[7] Du Cange (*Glossarium,* Henschel-Favre, I, p. 509), Deloche (*Cartulaire de Beaulieu,* Paris, 1859, pp. cclxxxvi ff.), and Diez (*Wörterbuch,* s. v. *baccalare*), see in the *baccalaria* a more or less important tenure with the *baccalarius* as tenant. Stubbs (*Select Charters,* Glossary, *s. v.* bacheleria) would make it a grazing farm. On these views see Guilhiermoz, *Origine de la noblesse,* Paris, 1902, pp. 111-112. Guilhiermoz recognizes that the *baccalaria* is only a minor portion of a tenure, but does not attempt to determine its character further than that he considers the example cited above, I, 12, to indicate that the ground was in cultivation. Doniol, *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges,* pp. 19-20, discusses the word, but reaches no conclusion.

development from *baccalarius,* "a youth," but more likely to be derived from *baccalaria,* "a farm-dependency."

Leaving aside for the moment the reasons for the change of initial *v* to *b,* I should suggest, in the light of the above indications of the meaning of this group of words, the following possible developments in form and meaning: from *bacca,* "cow," an adjective **baccalis,* "having relation to cows"; from this, *baccalaria,* "place having relation to cows," *baccalarius,* "person connected with a *baccalaria.*" There is not at present sufficient information about the nature of the *baccalaria* and the *baccalarius* to give certainty to more specific definitions. It is therefore only as a query and under all reserves that I make the suggestions which follow. Since the *baccalaria* in the cartularies is a minor form of farm-dependency, this dependency may have been the pasture field or fields, a meaning not out of harmony with the examples, except perhaps in the case of I, 12, where the late date minimizes its value in determining the basal signification of the word. The *baccalarius,* "the youth" of the cartularies, may in like manner once have been "the cow-herd." Since cow-herding as one of the lightest forms of farm labor would frequently fall to the charge of adolescents, "cow-herd" could readily be transferred in meaning to "adolescent."

It is not impossible that we have a trace of the meaning "cow-herd" preserved still in the Old French, to judge by the following examples,[8] taken from Old French Bible glossaries in Hebrew characters.

D: הנערים לִישבַּקְלִיירש כלו הרועים שומרי הבהמות

E: הנערים לִישבַּקְלִיאֶרש הם רועי בקר

F: הנערים לִיש מִיקִינש הם הרועים שומרי הבהמות

[8] These examples are from the manuscripts described by Darmesteter in "Glosses et glossaires hébreux-français," *Ro.* I, pp. 146-176. For them and the accompanying comment I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. D. S. Blondheim of the University of Illinois.

D. "The young men," *les bâchelers,* that is, the herdsmen who guard the cattle.
E. "The young men," *les bachelers,* these are herdsmen of cattle.
F. "The young men," *les mechines,* these are the herdsmen who guard the cattle.

The Hebrew word glossed, though used elsewhere as well (*Gen.* 37, 2) for a herdsman, literally means only a "young man," a "lad," and the fact that MS. F translates "*les mechines,*" makes it doubtful whether *bacheler* really means more than "youth" in this connection. It is possible, however, in view of the somewhat archaic character of the glossaries, that D and E preserve an old gloss using *bacheler* in an antiquated sense, while F, which seems to have been written in Germany and is perhaps later than the other texts, may have altered the original reading.

Should the connection in meaning among the forms we have considered be granted to be natural, there still remains the question of the substitution of initial *b* for *v*. In connection with this, the geographical location of the examples is of interest. *Baccalaria,* the farm dependency, has been found only in texts belonging to territory which is embraced in the present departments of Corrèze (Beaulieu and Tulle: 14 examples), Cantal (Aurillac: 1 example), Aveyron (Conques: 1 example), Puy-de-Dôme (Sauxillanges, located in the south-central part of the department: 1 example). Turning to the *Atlas linguistique,*[9] we find that Latin initial *v* is represented by *b* in Aveyron, and by *b* by the side of *v* in Corrèze and Cantal. In other words, *baccalaria* belongs to the *b* territory in sixteen instances and to contiguous territory in the remaining instance.[10]

[9] Carte 1349, "vache," and other maps of words with initial *v*.

[10] In the cases where the word *baccalaria* has become a proper name (see note 4), the almost uniform custom of joining with it the article *la* indicates that we are dealing merely with the French place name La Bachellerie in a Latin dress, but there seems no reason to question that this French name goes back in the first

Baccalarius applied to persons, with the exception of the Barcelona example, has been found only at Marseilles; that is to say, in territory still in the general region near the $v > b$ ground, but more distinctly separated from it than any place at which we have been able to locate *baccalaria,* the land term.

A possible inference from the foregoing facts and deductions is that in a part of South France, in a section where $v > b$, there arose the words *baccalaria, baccalarius* with the meanings represented in other French territory by *vaccaria, vaccarius;* that *baccalarius,* in a transferred meaning "youth," lost all trace of its connection with *vacca* and spread to the other parts of the territory, forming the background of *bachelier.*[11]

The material brought together in this paper can probably be supplemented by further examination of documents,[12]

place to *baccalaria.* As a place name, however, it has lost all traces of whatever specific content it originally possessed, and we find it in the cartularies applied to *mansus, villa,* or *bordaria.*

Baccalaria as a place name occurs for Corrèze (Uzerche and Tulle: 5 examples), Cantal (Valuéjol: 1 example), and Haute-Vienne (Vigeois, Aureil, Limoges: 7 examples); that is, to *b* territory in six instances, to contiguous territory in the other seven instances. Joanne's *Dictionnaire géographique* gives La Bachellerie as the name of five places in France, ranging in population from 60 to 1535. One of these is located in Dordogne, two are in Corrèze, two in Haute-Vienne. These indications render it probable that *baccalaria* as a common noun and, later on, as a proper noun originated in and was restricted to a limited territory in and near the region where *v* is still to-day represented by *b.*

[11] If this be correct, the Old French form *bacheler* is due to an almost inevitable confusion with the other words with an *l* stem (*sangler, chevaler, escoler,* etc.), which go back to the suffix *-alis.* On the French *-er* and *-ier,* see *Dict. gén.: Traité,* pp. 61, 96, 117; on *-arius,* see Zimmerman, *Die Geschichte des lat. Suffixes -arius,* Darmstadt, 1895; Thomas, *Ro.* XXXI, pp. 481-498.

[12] I have, however, been unable to find further examples of *baccalaria* in a quite extensive list of cartularies from all parts of the territory.

and it can manifestly not be claimed that the evidence here adduced is conclusive as to the meaning of *baccalaria* and the relation of the group of words. It is possible that I am influenced in my interpretation by the fact that the renderings would accord with the connection suggested between these words and *bachelier,* yet if further investigation should reveal additional material according with the meaning and the geographical distribution of the examples so far cited, there would seem to be no valid objection to definitely connecting the word *bachelier* with Latin *vacca.*[13]

[13] I desire to express my thanks to Professor C. M. Andrews for information regarding English documents where the word *baccalaria* might be sought, and to Professor E. C. Armstrong, who, in addition to other valuable suggestions, directed my attention to the importance of the geographical location of the cartularies where the term occurs.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES[1]

BY

D. S. Blondheim

Cadastre

To one who reads the article *cadastre* in the *New English Dictionary,* it would seem that modern lexicographical science had said its last word on the subject. We are told that *cadastre* has been adopted from "Fr. *cadastre;* = Sp., It. *catastro:*—Late L. *capitastrum* 'register of the poll tax,' f. *caput* head, poll," and that the word means "a. (= L. *capitastrum.*) The register of *capita, juga,* or units of territorial taxation into which the Roman provinces were divided for the purposes of *capitatio terrena* or land tax. (Poste *Gaius.*) b. A register of property to serve as a basis of proportional taxation, a Domesday Book. c. (in mod. French use) A public register of the quantity, value, and ownership of the real property of a country." A closer examination of the subject, however, is unfavorable to the views adopted by the editors of the great work of the Philological Society.

To begin with, so far as accessible information indicates, the Latin *capitastrum,* which figures so bravely as the etymon of *cadastre,* never existed except in the imagination of etymologists. The *New English Dictionary,* usually so careful, has been led astray by the commentary appended to Poste's edition and translation of the Roman jurist Gaius' *In-*

[1] For valuable aid in connection with the following notes I am indebted to Professors David H. Carnahan and John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, to Professor Edward S. Sheldon, of Harvard University, and to my sister, Miss Grace H. Blondheim.

stitutionum Iuris Civilis Commentarii Quatuor,[2] from which comes the substance of definition *a,* as well as the quotation given a few lines below it: "The list of *capita* was called a Cadastre (*capitastrum*)."[3]

Poste has in turn derived his information from Savigny, to whom he refers. The illustrious German jurist, in a paper entitled *Römische Steuerverfassung unter den Kaisern,*[4] in describing the ancient registers of real property, remarks: "Im späteren Mittelalter nannte man diese Grundbücher *capitastra,* weil es Verzeichnisse der Steuerhufen (*capita*) waren: daraus hat sich *catastrum* gebildet, welches noch in unsern Tagen die übliche Bezeichnung geblieben ist." Savigny states that this derivation is already to be found in Jacques Godefroy's famous edition of the Theodosian code, a work first printed at Lyons in 1665. Godefroy mentions, in fact,[5] that a book of the kind in question "In Gallia aliquibus in locis a capitibus vel capitatione, *Capdastra,* vel *Catastre* vocatur, Capitationis scilicet registrum." It will be seen that Savigny has gone a step beyond the cautious Godefroy in giving as a real form a purely hypothetical *capitastra,* made, no doubt, in the image of *capdastra.*

[2] Oxford, 1875, p. 174.

[3] It may be noted in passing that the *New English Dictionary,* in its etymological note, falls, as does Diez (p. 93), into the error of many old jurists as to the sense of *caput* in Roman law, in describing *capitastrum* as a "register of the poll tax," while a few lines below, under definition *a,* it inconsistently follows the correct interpretation, given by Poste, according to which *caput* was a unit of land.

[4] This study, read February 27, 1823, before the Berlin Academy of Sciences, was printed in the *Abhandlungen* of the Academy (*historisch-philosophische Klasse*) for the years 1822 and 1823, (Berlin, 1825). The passage referred to is on p. 57, and is reprinted in Savigny's *Kleinere Schriften,* vol. 2 (Berlin, 1850), pp. 125-126.

[5] *Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis Jacobi Gothofredi,* ed. Ritter, vol. 5 (Mantua, 1748), p. 104. The passage in question is cited by the Benedictines in Du Cange, *s. v. capdastra.*

Savigny's conjecture was not a new one. Long before him Ménage had advanced the opinion that *catastro* and *cadastre* came from *capitastrum,* in supporting his view by "l'ancienne orthographe capdastre." [6]

Diez follows Ménage. He says (*l. l.*): "Das frühste mittelalter brauchte dafür *capitularium* Greg. Tur. 9, 30 mit dem zusatz *in quo tributa continebantur,* eigentlich eine in *capitula* eingeteilte schrift; [7] *capitastrum* aber entstand gewiss unmittelbar aus *caput* wie sp. *cabezon* steuerliste aus *cabeza.*" Thus, like Savigny, Diez would appear to regard *capitastrum* as of late medieval origin.

The objections naturally presenting themselves against such a hypothesis are striking. In the first place, as Ulrich suggests,[8] the formation of such a word at any period would be surprising. Moreover, if the word had arisen late in the middle ages, as Diez supposes, it could not have given the Romance forms, which could have come only from a popular development, and an irregular one at that. There is little need to enlarge upon the difficulties of this etymology, difficulties which led the editors of the *Dictionnaire général* to describe the origin of the word as uncertain, and caused Gaston Paris [9] to treat with a certain seriousness Ulrich's very hypothetical **κατόστρακον.*

The oldest examples of the word known to me are cited from Italy. Giulio Rezasco, in his valuable *Dizionario del linguaggio italiano storico e amministrativo,*[10] informs us (s. v. *catasto*) that the word came into use in Florence in connection with a reform in taxation introduced

[6] *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1694), *s. v. cadastre. Capitastrum* appears for the first time in the *Origini della lingua italiana* (Paris, 1669).

[7] The reference to Gregory of Tours is borrowed from Ménage, who cites it from Antoine Dadin de Hauteserre's *Rerum Aquitanicarum libri quinque* (Toulouse, 1648, p. 172).

[8] *ZRPh.* XXII, 262.

[9] *Ro.* XXVII, 511.

[10] Florence, 1881.

in the year 1427, involving an assessment of all sources of income. The word was also applied to the tax levied on the basis of such an assessment.[11] The word occurs previously in Umbria and in the Marches; Rezasco cites the form *catascto* (*sic; bis*) from the statutes of Perugia (1342) and *catasti* (pl.) from those of Norcia (1342), while the archives of Fabriano still preserve the *Liber Catastus Fabriani de anno* 1322. The word is found still earlier in Venice, under the form *catastico;* in a document dated November, 1185, it signifies a list of citizens owning taxable property.[12]

The word was not, however, restricted in the Venetian territory to this sense; it often meant simply an inventory,

[11] The oldest Florentine text known to me containing the word is a Latin document dated July 4, 1426, with the form *catastum*, published in the *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, IV, 40. For a reference to the article containing it I am indebted to Rezasco, *l. l.* The oldest examples cited by the Benedictines in Du Cange (s. v. *catastrum*) come from documents of Popes Eugene IV (1431-1447) and Nicholas V (1447-1455). S. v. *catastatio* the Benedictines refer to the *De Finibus Regundis* of Hieronymus de Monte (1st ed. Venice, 1556 [at Harvard]; 2d ed., revised by the author, Venice, 1562 [Brit. Mus.]); the passage indicated is (ed. 1588, f. 348 v.), "6 Catastatio illius, qui est debitor onerum realium in uno loco, non praejudicat alteri loco. 7 Catastum praebet signum, quod bona in illo acatastata (ed. 1556: accatestata) sint illius, cujus est catastum." Professor Sheldon states that this writer's proper name is Hieronymus de Monte Brixianus, and that he may have been related to "Petrus de Monte Venetus" (bishop of Brescia, 1442-1457; cf. Gradonicus, *Brixia Sacra* [Brescia, 1755], 337 ff,), and perhaps to Pope Julius III.

[12] Rezasco, *s. v. catastico* and *s. v. catasto;* the text cited is probably that referred to by Cecchetti (*La Vita dei veneziani fino al* 1200 [Venice, 1870], p. 51), as recording the entry in the "*catastici del Comune*" of the names of returned Venetians despoiled in 1171 in Byzantine territory by the emperor Manuel, restitution being made by Andronicus Comnenus (1183-1185) and Isaac Angelus (1185-1195). On p. 73 Cecchetti cites another example of the same expression in Latin form from a text of May, 1207.

as in the following passage of a Paduan chronicle:[13] "Appare nel Catastico di tutti i beni della veneranda Arca di esso glorioso Santo dell' anno 1405, che fino all' Anno presente 1560 si conservano. . . ." Cecchetti defines the word,[14] "Inventario, e spesso quasi *protocollo* di scritture risguardanti i possessi di privati, ed anche di tutti i documenti di un Ufficio o di una amministrazione, e, anticamente, degli averi e degli aggravii del Governo."

Catastico seems also to have meant the "statute-book" or "journal" (*matricola*) of a corporation; a text of 1530[15] testifies that the expenditure of 150 ducats on August 3, 1377, by the *Scuola di San Cristoforo dei Mercadanti alla Madonna dell' Orto* ". . . apar . . . per el libro over chatasticho dela nostra schuola . . . "

Rezasco cites the derivates *catasticare* (1425), *catasticatore* (1540), and *catasticazione* (1576), all used in reference to the assessment of property. Pirona gives the noun *catàstic* and the verb *catasticâ* as in use in Friuli.

From the facts cited it is evident that any etymological study of *catasto* must begin with the form *catastico,* which, strangely enough, seems to have escaped the attention of all previous students of the word, with one exception.[16]

[13] Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. XVII, col. 944; cited by Rezasco, *s. v. catastico.*

[14] *Archivio veneto*, XXIX, 471.

[15] *Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto*, series III, vol. XV, p. 1616.

[16] The exception is Ottavio Ferrari, who, in his *Origines linguae Italicae* (Padua, 1676), has an article headed *Catasto & Catastico,* which he proposes to derive "à Graeco καθίσταμαι, constituor, redigor, componor; vt *Catastici* libri sint, in quibus bona civium conscribuntur, & in ordinem rediguntur. *Il registro.*" Though born in Milan (1607), Ferrari had been professor in Padua since 1634 and doubtless learned to know the form *catastico* in his new environment. As he taught Greek, one might suppose he meant to regard the word as adapted from καταστατικός rather than directly from καθίσταμαι; cf. the French *catastatique* (Littré) and the erroneous Portuguese form *catastico*, "adj. (*de catastase*) t. med. Do. temperamento" (Moraes, 1844, 1858, 1877). Michaelis (1907) gives the proper Portuguese form *catastatico.*

Catastico is clearly an adaptation of the mediæval and modern Greek word κατάστιχον meaning nowadays (Hépitès) an "account-book,"[17] "a list." The oldest example known to me[18] occurs in the *Antiquum Rationarum Augusti Caesaris*,[19] where it is applied (Cotelerius, p. 355; Gronovius, p. 737) to an account of tax-receipts kept by a district tax-collector.

In the comprehensive study (in Russian) entitled "Traces of Cadastres in Byzantium,"[20] the distinguished Russian historian Professor Uspensky, director of the Russian Archæological Institute in Constantinople, points out (p. 315) that ἀκρόστιχον unites in Byzantine Greek the meanings "tax-register, assessment-book," and "land-tax" (cf. the two senses of *catasto*), while the primitive στιχοίς means in mediæval times "assessment-book." He cites (pp. 315, 327) several examples of the use of adapted forms of ἀκρόστιχον in Latin documents, but seems in the accessible parts of the article to make no reference to καιτάστχον or *catastico*.

[17] The word has passed in this sense into Roumanian, where it has the forms *catastih* and *catastif;* cf. Cihac, vol. II, p. 645.

[18] Referred to in Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis, s. v.*

[19] This text, contained in a twelfth century manuscript in Paris (cf. Cat. Omont, no. 1670), was published by Montfaucon (*Analecta Graeca*, Paris, 1688; also in Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, vol. IV, Paris, 1692), and also by Gronovius (*De Sestertiis*, Leyden, 1691). It is posterior to Leo the Isaurian (717-741; cf. Cotelerius, p. 325, and Gronovius, p. 712), and antedates 1099 (cf. Cotelerius, p. 367; Gronovius, p. 746.

[20] Published in the *Journal of the Ministry of Education* (St. Petersburg), CCXXXI (1884), 1-43 and 289-335, and CCXL (1885), 1-52. The latter volume is inaccessible, the files of the *Journal* in the Harvard, Astor, and Congressional Libraries all being incomplete. Being unable to read Russian, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Simon Litman and to Mr. H. E. Mantz, of the University of Illinois, for the translation of portions of the article. Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2d edition, Munich, 1897), p. 1086, makes reference to the study.

Gaston Paris' remark,[21] "il semble bien que κατα figure dans ce mot," represents an approach to the opinion I have advanced, and supports it to a certain extent.

The borrowing of the Greek word by the Venetians is easily understood, and would seem to add a new fact to the history of Byzantine influence upon the West of Europe. The change from *catastico* to *catasto* in some non-Venetian dialect is also readily comprehensible. The existence of *catasta,* "pile of wood," would facilitate the change,[22] as well as the analogy of words like *simbolo* by the side of *simbolico.*

The adoption of the word by the Florentines was soon followed by its appearance in other parts of Italy; Rezasco notes (s. v. *catasto*) that it occurs in Genoa in 1453, and figures in a Neapolitan text dated 1490. The influence of the termination *-astro* produced the non-Tuscan form *catastro,* used, according to Rezasco, *s. v.,* "nell' Urbinate, nel Piemonte e nella Liguria." [23]

Catastro seems to have passed into Provence about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Mistral cites the form

[21] *Ro.* XXVII, 511.

[22] The attempt of Machiavelli, who is followed by Muratori (*Antiquitates Italicae,* II, col. 1181; referred to in Du Cange, *s. v. catastrum*), to derive *catasto* from the *catasta* group, is quite unsatisfactory on morphological as well as semantic grounds. This view has had a belated revival in the study of P. F. Bernitt, *Lat.* caput *und* *capum *nebst ihren Wortsippen im Französischen* (Kiel, 1905), p. 93 ff.; this work, accessible only at the last moment, anticipates some of the points made in the present article, especially that of the diffusion of the word from Italy.

[23] Morri (*Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano,* Faenza, 1840) gives the form *catastar;* Cherubini (vol. 4, 1843, supplement), gives the Milanese form *catàster,* as well as (1839) the diminutive *catastrìn,* used also in the sense of "quello estratto del Catasto che ogni estimato ha diritto ad ottenere dalle autorità per quella parte per cui vi è inscritto." G. R. Carli (*Scritt. class. ital. di economia pol.,* XIV, 240) used in 1760 *catastrino* for *catasto.*

cathastre from the Cadastre of Albi, dated 1525.[24] *Catastre* became *cadastre* through the analogy of words derived from Lat. *catasta;* cf. Mistral, *cadastre,* and also Levy, *cadastar.* The writing *-pd-* is a reflection of the influence of Provençal words of the *caput* family; it is also to be noted that *cap-brèu* (cf. Mistral and Sp. *cabezón*), is used in a sense similar to that of *cadastre.*[25]

The French *cadastre* is first cited from Jean Bodin's *Discours sur les monnoyes* (1578), which speaks of the "cadastre de Toulouze"; the word comes of course from Provence, as the *Dictionnaire général* remarks. *Catastro* does not appear in accessible Spanish dictionaries before 1780 (Dictionary of the Spanish Academy). Moraes (1844) cites *cadastro* from a Portuguese text of 1788, and *catastro* appears in 1803 in the Catalan Dictionary of Esteve-Belvitges-Juglá y Font.

If the view advanced in this article be correct, it throws an interesting side-light upon the remark of Burckhardt,[26] "Venedig möchte sich wohl als den Geburtsort der modernen Statistik geltend machen dürfen, mit ihm vielleicht Florenz und in zweiter Linie die entwickelteren italienischen Fürstenthümer." Compare the statement of Rinaldo degli Albizi, in recommending on March 7, 1427, the adoption of the *catasto:*[27] "Et Veneciis forma hec servatur, et dicitur civitatem illam pre ceteris melius regi et gubernari. . . "

[24] The form *catastre* is given as a variant of *cadastre* by Cotgrave (1611), as well as by Jacques Godefroy, who has been cited above.

[25] In connection with the Venetian meaning of *catastico,* it is interesting to note the remark of Chomel (*Supplément,* 1743, probably copying Savary des Bruslons, 1723-30), that *cadastre* is sometimes applied by the merchants of Provence and Dauphiné "au Journal ou Registre sur lequel ils écrivent chaque jour les affaires concernant leur commerce, et le détail de la dépense de leur maison."

[26] *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien,* ed. Geiger, vol. I (Leipsic, 1877), p. 69.

[27] *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani,* IV, 43-4; cited by Rezasco, *s. v. catasto.*

Cerdo, Cerda

Diez's view[28] that the Spanish and Portuguese *cerdo,* "hog," is derived from Lat. *sordidus,* through the intermediate forms **suerdo, *serdo,* the change of *ue* to *e* being supposedly parallel to that seen in *fruente* > *frente,* has been pronounced "very doubtful" by Meyer-Lübke,[29] and rejected by Ford[30] as postulating initial *c* < *s* and *e* < *ŏ*. The indirect confirmation of Diez's etymology which Madame Michaëlis de Vasconcellos finds in her demonstration [*Miscellanea . . . in memoria di Nap. Caix e Ugo A. Canello* (Florence, 1886), pp. 164-165] that Portuguese *xurdo* "dirty" (epithet of a hog) and *xodreiro* "dirty; mud-puddle," come from Lat. *sordidus,* is not very convincing, though it seems to have led Meyer-Lübke to modify the statement previously quoted by saying[31] that it is "not certain" that *cerdo* is from *sordidus.*

Diez notes that by the side of *cerdo* there exists the word *cerda,* "bristle, horse-hair," which he regards as derived from *cerdo;* he suggests that *cerda* originally may have meant a "pig-skin," and then have been restricted to the "bristles" upon the pig-skin. This view, in itself none too plausible, rests in part upon an error. Diez defines *cerda* incorrectly "haufe schweinsborsten oder auch pferdehaare," an inaccuracy probably explained by the fact that *cerda* is generally used in the plural.

A serious objection to this explanation consists in the apparently complete absence of *cerdo* from Spanish dictionaries printed previous to 1729, when the word appears in the famous *Diccionario de autoridades* of the Spanish

[28] *Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* p. 438.

[29] *ZRPh.* VIII, 228.

[30] *Old Spanish Sibilants,* in the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature,* VII, 72, n. 2.

[31] *Grammaire des langues romanes,* I, § 217.

Academy,[32] *Cerda,* on the other hand is found in Pedro de Alcalá (1505),[33] in Christoual de las Casas (1587), and in Covarrubias (1611). If the last-named, who is generally well-informed, had known of the existence of *cerdo,* he could hardly have failed to mention it, since he remarks, *s. v. cerda:* "Solos los puercos estan llenos de cerdas, estas son cortas, y los llamamos por esta razon, El ganado de la cerda." Moreover, the word is not added in the enlarged edition of Covarrubias published in 1674, and the *Diccionario de autoridades,* though it quotes the word *cerda* from three writers, does not give any examples to illustrate the use of the word *cerdo,* and defines it: "Lo mismo que Cochino, Puerco ò Marráno. Llámase tambien assi, porque este animál en lugár de pelo está cubierto de cerdas cortas. . . "

It should be noted, moveover, that no form corresponding to *cerdo* exists by the side of *cerda* in Catalan.[34] Furthermore, the Portuguese dictionary of Moraes (1844), which gives *cerda* without remark, describes *cerdo* as antiquated;

[32] The word *cerdo,* along with *cerdudo* and *cerdoso,* has been added in the margin of the copy of Covarrubias (1611) belonging to the Johns Hopkins University. The original owner of the book, one Don Diego Nicolas Ruiz de Ojeda Gallegos y Andrada, to give him in one breath all the names he assumes in three incomplete autographs on the title-leaf of the book, made systematic additions to the dictionary, mostly learned words of little interest to Romance students. D. Antonio Paz y Mélia kindly informs me that the Madrid MS. cited by Gallardo (*Ensayo,* II, app., p. 115, s. v. Ojeda) makes no reference to this D. Diego de Ojeda. The additions, according to various indications, would seem to antedate the *Diccionario de autoridades.* This manuscript note is consequently the oldest evidence known to me for the existence of *cerdo.*

[33] P. 166 *b,* ed. Lagarde. Neither *cerdo* nor *cerda* occurs in Lebrija, to judge by the reprint of Antonio por Rubinos (1778).

[34] This statement rests on the fact that the dictionaries of Esteve-Belvitges-Juglá y Font (1803), Labernia (1839), Saurá (1878), and Labernia y Esteller (n. d.), though all containing *cerda,* give no form **cert,* and that Saurá (1870) renders the Spanish *cerdo,* "Porch, tocino, bacó."

this statement should probably be interpreted as meaning that the word was an ephemeral importation from Spain.[35]

It would seem, then, that *cerdo* was derived from *cerda,* presumably at a comparatively late period. The exact way in which *cerdo* was formed is obscure; the suggestion of the Spanish Academy (1899) that the word comes from *cerdudo* (cf. also *cerdoso*) is perhaps along the right track.

If it be granted that *cerdo* is derived from *cerda,* and not *vice versa,* it is clear that the etymology must be looked for in another direction. Here Catalan, as in so many other Iberian questions, is of assistance. Labernia (1839) gives *cerra* as a rare form of *cerda,* and registers *serra* as an antiquated equivalent;[36] Esteve-Belvitges-Juglá y Font (1803) give *cerra* as rare, *serra* as archaic, and *cerda* only as an equivalent of *cerra,* while Saurá (1878) gives *cerda* and *cerra* without remark. Inasmuch as Lacavalleria (1696) gives only *cerres* or *serres* (pl.), and as Torra (1757; first ed., inaccessible, 1650) has only *cerras* (pl.), it seems probable that the true Catalan form is *cerra,* and that *cerda* is due to Spanish influence. The fact that the Majorcan form is *cerra* and not *cerda*[37] lends color to this view. It is further to be noted that a form *cerrós,* paralleling Spanish *cerdoso,* is given in the dictionary of "F. M. F. P. y M. M." (1839), as well as in the pentaglot dictionary "per una

[35] This view is supported by the fact that *cerdo* appears in none of the older Portuguese dictionaries accessible (*e. g.,* Barbosa, 1611; Bluteau, 1712; Bluteau and Moraes, 1789), and that the Moraes of 1844 cites no author who uses the word. It seems possible, indeed, that *cerda* also is not properly a Portuguese word. It is not found in Barbosa (1611), and, though Bluteau and Moraes (1789) cite it from the writings of Vieira (1608-1697), Bluteau (1712) says that *cerdoso,* which he cites from Camoëns, is derived from the Spanish *cerda,* and translates (1721) the Spanish *cerdas de bestia* by *sedas.*

[36] In Labernia y Esteller (n. d.) we find the same statements, except that *serra* is not described as archaic.

[37] *Cerra* is the only form given by Figuera (1840) and by the *Diccionario . . . Mallorquín-castellano por unos amigos* (1859).

Societat de Catalans" (1839), and that *cerrúd,* an analogue of *cerdudo* (cf. the Abruzzese *cerrute,* "Setoloso" [Finamore]), appears in the two Majorcan dictionaries cited.

Cerra, of which *serra* is doubtless a mere orthographical variant, seems clearly to come from the Lat. *cirra,* a feminine form of *cirrus,* "lock of hair," abundantly attested in grammarians and glossaries. Some of the manuscripts containing *cirra* are as old as the seventh century. *Cirrus* is used in Latin of horse hair, and as it is frequently used in the plural, it could readily come to be applied to a single hair. The step from "horse-hair" to "hog-bristle" is not difficult.

Cerda appears to be a modification of *cerra.* The change from *rr* to *rd* is perhaps an example of consonantal dissimilation, parallel to the well-known cases in which *ll* and *nn* become *ld* and *nd.*[38] Cases which might lend some color to such a view are those of *izquierdo* and *ardalear.* As regards the former, Old Spanish has also the form *esquerro,*[39] the normal forms in Catalan and Provençal have no *-rd-,*[40] and the Basque form would appear, according to the evidence adduced by Diez (p. 461), to be usually in *-rr-* rather than in *-rd-,*[41] so that one would expect *-rr-* rather than *-rd-* in the primitive Iberian form.[42] *Ardalear,* cited by the Academy

[38] Cf. Baist, Gröber's *Grundriss,* I², 898.

[39] The only example of this form known to me is found in the *Poema de José,* ed. Janer, 185 *c* [=ed. Morf, 174 *c*].

[40] Mistral cites, it is true, *s. v. esquerre,* a feminine Provençal form in *-erdo,* but as the old examples cited by Levy, *s. v. esquerretat* and *esquerrier,* have only *-rr-,* it would seem likely that the form in *-rd-* is due to Spanish influence.

[41] The Basque forms in *-rd-* appear to rest chiefly upon the testimony of Larramendi.

[42] The view suggested in regard to *izquierdo* has in part the support of the high authority of Professor Baist (*ZRPh.* VI, 461), though it is possible that he no longer holds to a view advanced twenty-eight years ago. Professor Schuchardt speaks (*ibid.,* XXIII, 200) of the word as existing in Sardinian, without mentioning the

(1726) from the *Agricultura* of Gabriel Alonso de Herrera [43] (described by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo [44] as "uno de los más clásicos y venerables" of Spanish *testi di lingua*), as well as the participle *ardaleado*,[45] which are the equivalents of *ralear* and *raleado*, as applied to grape-clusters, in the sense of "thinning out, becoming thin," would appear to be derived from an **arralear*, a member of the group of Iberian words discussed by Cornu,[46] which take on a prosthetic *a-*.[47] The rarity and uncertainty of corresponding examples, however, would lead to the suggestion that perhaps *cerra* > *cerda* through the influence of *seda* and its derivate *cedazo*. This view is favored by the existence of the form *cerdazo*, given without any quotations by the *Diccionario de autoridades* as an antiquated form of *cedazo*. As a number of examples of forms in *ced-* are given, *cerdazo* would appear to be a rare and probably local variant of *cedazo*.

The hypothesis of a connection between *cerda* and *cirra* is strengthened by the fact that *cerda*, like the French *cer*,[48]

form he may have had in mind. I have been unable to find a corresponding word in Spano, Hofmann, or Wagner, and do not know what source the eminent author of the *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* may have drawn upon.

[43] The passage cited by the Academy runs thus in the edition of Alcalá de Henares (1513; lib. II, ch. II, f. xxii, v°): "Esta vua suele hardalear, que es quedar rala en los razimos." The initial *h* is probably merely orthographic. I owe the verification of the quotation to the courtesy of Dr. W. R. Martin, librarian of the Hispanic Society of America. The copy in the library of the society bears the signature "Gabriel Alonso de Herrera," and appears to have formed part of the author's own library.

[44] In the Prólogo, p. xxxvi, of Señor Bonilla y San Martín's Spanish translation (Madrid, n. d.) of Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature*.

[45] Given in the *Segunda impresión* (1770) of the first two letters of the *Diccionario de autoridades*.

[46] *Ro.* XI, 77-78.

[47] The form *arralar* is well attested.

[48] Cf. Thomas, *Nouveaux essais*, pp. 200-203.

means a "bundle of flax not yet hackled," while *cerro,* the regular derivative of *cirrus,* is applied to flax or hemp which has been hackled. It is also to be noted that the part of animals on which *cerdas* grow is called *cerro,* "back." The *Diccionario de autoridades* cites two passages which are of interest in this connection. The first comes from López de Gómara's *Conquista de Méjico,* which says of the iguana:[49] "Paresce lagarto de los muy pintados, tiene la cabeza chica y redonda, el cuerpo gordo, el *cerro* erizado con *cerdas.* . . " The second citation is made up of lines from Góngora's second *decima,*[50] in which he speaks of the

> "jabalí, en cuyos *cerros*
> Se levanta un escuadrón
> De *cerdas* . . . "

[49] *Biblioteca de autores españoles,* XXII, 311 *b.* The *Diccionario* refers merely to "Hist. de Ind. fol. 15," presumably omitting a reference to part II, the *Conquista de Méjico* being published in at least one instance as a separately paged part of the *Historia general de las Indias* (cf. *Gallardo,* III, col. 453).

[50] *Biblioteca de autores españoles,* XXXII, 482 *b.*

THE FRENCH SHIFTS IN ADJECTIVE POSITION AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

BY

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

I

In a review[1] of two recent works on the adjective, I attempted to classify the current ideas with reference to the causes which determine the position of attributive adjectives in French. It is there set forth that a French adjective, when placed after its noun, serves as a logical distinguisher; when placed before, as an emotional attribution.[2] A logical distinguisher marks out, from the specimens in question of a class named by the noun, the sub-class which the speaker has in mind; an emotional attribution serves to indicate, with reference to these specimens, the speaker's favorable or unfavorable impression: the specimens are adjudged satisfactory or noteworthy or faultless, unsatisfactory or insignificant or defective. **Dans le mur il y a une porte basse,** *in the wall there is a door of slight vertical extension.* **Un homme de basse stature,** *a man of defective height.* **Son chapeau mou,** *his hat of yielding texture.* **Son joli chapeau,** *his attractive hat.* **Son grand chapeau,** *his notably big hat.*[3]

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXIII, pp. 149-154.

[2] Compare Vinet, *Chrestomathie francaise*,[8] II, p. 117; Gröber, *Grundriss*, I[2], p. 273. A small group of adjectives, for which emotional attribution is the commoner function, precede the noun also in the rarer cases in which they serve to distinguish a sub-class. For these, see *infra*, p. 7].

[3] Since **grand** is one of the adjectives for which fore-position is as a rule generalized, **son grand chapeau** may also mean: *that one of his hats which is distinguished from the others by its size.*

If the foregoing distinction exists, and the French speaker, by utilizing his power to change the place of the adjective, thus distinctly modifies its character, the question presents itself immediately whether it can then be asserted as a general principle of language that the place after the noun is the natural position of logical subdividers, the place before the noun the natural position of emotional epithets. Even if this holds good for French, it would not necessarily do so for other speeches; and to assume the universality of its application would at least imply a wide difference in the mental attitude of different peoples during the period when they were forming their habits in adjective position. Thus, a comparison of German and English with Romance positions would then seem to indicate, on the part of the Teutons, a most surprising predominence of a tendency to interpret the adjective as an epithet. In case, therefore, it should be strongly indicated that logical distinction and emotional attribution are, in some languages at least, not associated with post-position and fore-position, it might become advisable to review the French status in order to determine whether, after all, the shift in position is there the determining factor of the differing values, or whether it is only an accompanying phenomenon.

A further question presenting itself is whether a language which, like the English, is not at liberty to vary the position of attributive adjectives has other methods of indicating the shadings of meaning that, in French, can be so delicately differentiated by the shift in word order. To seek an answer to these questions is the purpose of the present paper.

Let us first consider in detail the different types of French epithets, and compare with them the corresponding English significations. In the first place, a number of French adjectives can, at times, instead of serving to distinguish a subclass, simply call attention to the fact that the substantive to which they are attached possesses in extensive or in com-

plete measure the qualities belonging to its class. The adjective becomes thereby merely augmentative or meliorative, indicating the speaker's approval of the selection of the specimen in question as an example of the type named by the substantive. Compare: **c'est un enfant parfait** (*i. e., a child without faults:* distinguishing adjective), and: **c'est un parfait enfant** (*i. e., a perfect specimen of the type "child":* epithet).

If French has, by means of position, this ready method of indicating the two values of the adjective, the English has also a means to accomplish the same result. Instead of varying the position, it differentiates by means of differences in the stress and in the closeness of union of the two elements. In certain cases, we find a clearly noticeable stress resting upon the adjective. The noun also is accented, so that the two elements retain their independence and have between them an appreciable pause. In other cases the stress on the adjective is so light that the adjective is practically proclitic; the substantive is then heavily stressed and no pause is possible between adjective and noun. Compare: *he is a per'fect | child'*, and: *he is a perfect child'*. Note the difference between: *he has an ac'tive | in'terest in the business,* and: *he has an active in'terest in the business;* between *a brave' | sol'dier* and *a brave sol'dier;* between *a soft' | bed'* and *a soft bed';* between: *now that he is down on the Irish, he has a French' | cook'*, and: *he will not so much as speak to his former friends, now that he has a French cook'*. The list of examples showing similar distinctions could be indefinitely lengthened. It is manifest that in the English adjectives cited accentuation followed by a pause corresponds to French post-position.

It is perfectly natural that this difference in the separation of the two elements and in their accentuation should manifest itself. Decorative epithets, despite their emotional trend, should not themselves be stressed, but should instead increase

the stress on the substantive; for decorative epithets are not emotional in the sense of magnifying their own importance, but are emotional attributes of the noun, fixing attention on the specimen mentioned as awakening admiration or surprise by the extent of its participation in the qualities belonging to the class. For this same reason, it is also natural that adjectives constituting emotional attributes should be very closely united with the substantive; and further that, when the adjective logically distinguishes, there should be a pause between the two elements. In fact, such a pause exists, not alone in English, but in French as well, and is there sufficiently marked to render infrequent, in colloquial French, *liaison* between a noun and a following (that is, a distinguishing) adjective. **Un petit enfant | américain.**

The fore-position of the French adjective and proclisis of the English adjective may also be observed when the adjective, instead of the value of a mere "plus," which obtains in the examples so far considered, takes on that of a mere "minus"; namely, when the adjective is diminishing or pejorative in character. It is still an emotional attribution, and indicates the displeasure, condescension, or surprise awakened by the meagre participation of the individual in qualities naturally pertaining to the class, or by the meagre participation of the class in qualities usually present in ideally developed entities. Compare, for the French, **un écrivain méchant** (*a writer who is characterized by malevolence:* distinguishing adjective) with **un mechant écrivain** (*an unsatisfactory specimen of the type "writer"; a sorry writer:* epithet); **une jeune fille mince** with **une mince dot; un domestique simple** with **un simple domestique;** and, for the English, *an old' | hat'* with *an old hat'; a lit'tle | house'* with *a little house'; a wretch'ed | sin'ner* with *a wretched sin'ner; a sim'ple | ser'vant* with *a simple ser'vant.*

In the uses given above, the adjective as an emotional attribution stands in the relation to its substantive of an

augment or a detractor. Another case where the adjective does not, and in fact can not, serve to distinguish a sub-class is when it is known to constitute a quality of the class as a whole; that is, when it forms one of the essential elements of the concept. If it is then detached and mentioned, this will be done solely because it possesses an augmentative or a detractive value which the speaker utilizes to give an indication of his emotional attitude toward the substantive concept. Here again we naturally find conformity to the laws for decorative epithets; the adjective joining the noun proclitically in the English, and preceding in the French. Compare, for the French, **une nuit blanche** with **la blanche neige; une femme savante** with **un savant professeur du sanscrit;** and, for the English: *who ever saw a gen'tle | hye'na?* with: *he was as mild as a gentle lamb'; this region abounds in the hard' | vari'eties of wood* with: *I slept on the hard floor'.*

If there is considered to exist only one member of the class named by the substantive, the adjective must of necessity possess the character just described and be augmentative or detractive: **le paresseux Henri, la catholique Espagne;** *lazy Hen'ry, Catholic Spain'.* In many instances, however, a substantive usually applied to a single definite individual may also be looked upon as an appellative for the persons who happen to bear that name; or an individual designated by the substantive may be considered as being made up of separate individualities corresponding to his different epochs or qualities. When viewed in one of these two lights, the substantive may be qualified by a distinguishing adjective: **Henri jeune, l'Angleterre catholique;** *big' | Hen'ry, Cath'olic | Eng'land.* While this is possible, and in some instances not infrequent, there exists for many individual cases in both languages a tendency to avoid the construction and to employ paraphrases, such as **Henri pendant sa jeunesse;** *the Catholic portion of England;*

and a French **Henri paresseux** equivalent to *lă'zy Hen'ry,* or an English *drunk' Cae'sar* for **César saoul** are quite excluded.

A clear-cut example of the possible two-fold aspect of proper names as at times forming a class composed of a single member, and at times constituting appellatives, is furnished me by one of my friends. He grew up on his father's farm, on which there was another and much larger boy, whose name, like his, was Charles. My friend was called Charley, and, in order to distinguish between the two, the second Charles was regularly termed *big' Char'ley.* The son grew up and quitted the farm; and when, after a prolonged absence, he returned for a visit, he found that the adjective was still commonly attached to the name of his boyhood companion, but that, instead of being *big' Char'ley,* he had now become *big Char'ley.* The situation which had created the need for a distinguishing adjective having disappeared, the word " big " had shifted over and become an augmentative.

It is important to note at this point that in English as in French a quality not common to the whole class named by the substantive is liable to assume the character of an augmentative or detractive attribution if it has already been established as a quality of a definite individual under discussion. When the speaker employs an adjective which serves to posit for a second time a quality already imputed to the individual named by the substantive, if he makes this repetition for the purpose of recalling or emphasizing that the quality constitutes a distinguishing trait, the adjective so employed naturally receives the treatment accorded a distinguishing adjective; but if he assumes that its distinguishing character is still sufficiently present and prominent in the hearer's mind, he may look on the adjective as now constituting an ornamental epithet. Thus of a lawyer whose mildness is well known or has been recently remarked upon, or of whom an incident has been related tending to establish mildness as an element of his character, we can per-

fectly well say in French **ce docile avocat,** or employ in English a proclitic adjective: *this timid law'yer.*

A group of the commonest French adjectives, such as **bon, mauvais, jeune, vieux,** etc., stand regularly before the noun, not only when augmentative or detractive, but even when they serve to distinguish a sub-class. All of these are adjectives which readily lend themselves to augmentative or detractive attribution, so that they would naturally occur oftener before the noun than after it, and at the period of the earliest French written monuments the dominant position had already been generalized, creating a stereotyped word order which still persists. No similar irregular treatment marks the corresponding English adjectives, which conform to the general laws of English adjective accentuation.

Epithet and distinguishing adjective may alike unite with nouns to form compound words, which are then restricted to some one meaning among those of which they are potentially capable. When, in such cases, the French adjective precedes its substantive, no means exists of distinguishing for the ear that the speaker's intent is to use the phrase as a compound. **Un bon mot, un bonhomme, un grand-père, une sage-femme** have not a stress distinctive from that of **un bon lit, un bon oncle, un grand poids, une sage réponse.** In consequence of this, the establishment of such a compound value has the result of driving out the remaining possible meanings of the given combination, which have then to be expressed in some other way. For example, **c'est un bon homme** is not used in the meaning: *he is a good man.* When the French adjective follows its substantive, some slight differentiation can be made, since the light pause which exists between noun and distinguishing adjective is eliminated if they unite into a compound noun; but this difference is not sufficiently marked to prevent the compound form from driving out, as a rule, the other acceptations. Compare **une ville | neuve** and **Villeneuve; un goût | aigre** and **du vinaigre; du marbre**

| **blanc** and **du fer-blanc.** In this matter of recognizing compounds, English has a distinct advantage. When the elements of the combination are not merged, the noun keeps its accent; but if the whole is felt as a single word, the stress, in accord with the general tendency of English word accent, shifts to the beginning; *i. e.,* falls on the adjective, the noun assuming an enclitic relation to this initial stress. Thus the fused and the unfused forms can stand side by side and still be distinguished; as, for example, in a *grand fath'er* and *a grand' father; a round' | ta'ble* and *the Knights of the Round'-table; a gen'tle | wom'an, a gentle wom'an* and *a gen'tlewoman.* In a number of cases, it is difficult to determine whether the English adjective, in the stage antecedent to its forming with the noun a compound word, was a distinguisher or an epithet. In such compounds as *blackbird, paleface, red-breast, White-House,* the adjective may in the beginning have served to point out a distinguishing mark, or it may have been an epithet indicating the agreeable or disagreeable sensation evoked in the mind of the speaker by the appearance of the individual named. In the French, on the other hand, the original character of the adjective is, of course, evident from its position. Thus the adjective was the mark of a sub-class in **pivert, Esprit-Saint, chevau-léger, coffre-fort, amour-propre;** it was originally augmentative or detractive in **rouge-gorge, blanc-bec, blanc-manger, Saint-Siège, bas-fond, vif-argent, beau-fils, franc-maçon.**

Adjectives which are emotional by their meaning are not forced, on this account, to precede the French noun. They can just as readily as any other adjectives serve to name distinguishing qualities, and this can still be true when they are so enunciated as to indicate that the speaker is stirred to the highest degree. They will be placed before the substantive only under the same conditions as other adjectives; namely, when they constitute a mere augment or diminisher of the substantive; that is, when they contribute to the

stress on the noun rather than direct attention to the stress on themselves. Thus the French does not especially favor frequent antecedence for such of them as have preserved a clear-cut, distinctive meaning. **Bon** and **mauvais,** which have lost most of their content and have become hardly more than a plus and a minus sign, stand regularly before the noun; **heureux** and **triste,** which have a more specific content, generally follow, and in the instances where they stand first hardly exceed in value **bon** and **mauvais;** while an author who places frequently at the front such adjectives as **joyeux** or **terrible,**[4] marks out his style as feeble and ineffective. Similarly, in English, *good* and *bad* are frequently proclitic; *glad* and *sad* not as commonly so; while *joyful* and *terrible* rarely fail to preserve their full accent. It may be noted in this connection that to augment further the emotional intensity of emotional adjectives the English increases the force of their accent, prolonging, at the same time, the pause between the adjective and the noun. The French, on its side, prolongs the pause between the noun and the adjective, and shows a certain tendency, if the number of syllables permits this differentiation, to shift the accent of the adjective to the initial syllable:[5] *ter''rible* | *news'*; **une nouvelle** | **ter'rible.**

No other rhetorical element causes as frequent disturbance in French adjective position as does chiasmus. The desire to fix the attention upon the unity of two kindred ideas, or to bring out the diversity between two that are opposed, seems at times the sole motive in the placing of a pair of adjectives modifying two nouns which happen to be located in proximity to one another. Yet it is interesting to note how rarely, in the works of the more careful authors,

[4] Bourget, who is rather over-fond of fore-position, not infrequently offers such instances as: **Un malade qui, dans son agonie, laisserait peut-être échapper un terrible secret,** *Emigré,* p. 42.

[5] See Passy, *Petite phonétique comparée,* Leipzig, 1906, pp. 33-35.

adjectives in such collocations are in pronounced disaccord with the law for the position of distinguishing adjective and epithet. In the following examples, chosen at random, chiasmus doubtless determines the position of the adjectives, but in no one of these cases is it impossible to reconcile their location with the principles treated in this paper.

Si ceux-là sont damnés, qui furent amateurs Du parler clair et du clair sourire des dames, Hélas! le Paradis n'aura plus de chanteurs, A. France, *Poésies*, 82.—De petits mariés pauvres et leur pauvre compagnie attendaient, *id.*, *M. Bergeret*, 76.—La princesse . . . l'aimait avec une mollesse fougueuse, avec une astucieuse sensualité dont le faible Berthier était troublé pour la vie, *id.*, *Puits de Ste. Claire*, 292.—Ils s'engagèrent sur la route bleue, bordée de noir feuillage, dans la nuit silencieuse, *id.*, *M. Bergeret*, 144.—A cause du froid âcre de ce dur pays, Bourget, *Emigré*, 219.—Après le dernier cierge éteint, nuit complète et complète silence, Arène, *Domnine*, 39.—Vous enseignez aux jeunes poètes . . . l'amour de la poésie pure et du pur langage française, De Hérédia, *Trophées*, dédication.—Une fatigue immense, un immense dégoût l'envahissait, Prévost, *Chonchette*, 118.—Une barbe longue terminait de longs favoris, Rosny, *Affaire Derive*, 23.—Dont la robuste vieillesse faisait honte aux maturités épuisées d'aujourd'hui, Bourget, *Emigré*, 56.—Content des élections municipales qui n'avaient fait sortir ni nouvelles idées, ni hommes nouveaux, A. France, *Orme du mail*, 176.—Ayant en elle le double amour qu'ils représentent: le volontaire appel à la chasteté, et l'appel involontaire au sauvage amour, Aicard, *Maurin des Maures*, 279.

II

The foregoing comparison of English accentuation with French adjective position seems to show that English proclisis is the correspondent to French fore-position, and to furnish examples of an English accentual equivalent for French post-position. It is now necessary to consider whether the examples thus far cited are typical of the whole of English usage: whether the epithet will uniformly be found to be proclitic, and the distinguishing adjective as uniformly be found to

be accented. An observation of English as spoken and read seems to bear out the following conclusions:

(1) *Light stress or proclisis.* An adjective used as an epithet is uniformly light-stressed.

(2) *Normal stress.* Distinguishing adjectives are accented, but the amount of stress they receive varies widely, at times being inferior to, and at times exceeding, the stress on the noun. Expiratory force which approximates or equals, but does not exceed, that on the following noun may be termed normal stress. Such stress constitutes the usual accentuation of distinguishing adjectives.

(3) *Heavy stress.* The stress on the adjective will be greater than that on the noun, if it is desired to give prominence to the distinguishing character of the adjective. This will be the case (*a*) when the intent is to indicate that the quality in question is present to a degree so exceptional that it constitutes the preëminent mark of the individual; (*b*) when the quality in question is contrasted with other qualities, or when the individual's possession of the quality is contrasted with the absence of it from other members of the class.

The following illustrations may serve to render the preceding statement clearer:

He lives alone in an ugly little house′ (= light stress; French: **une vilaine petite maison**).—You can easily find his residence: he lives near the church in an ug′ly house′ (= normal stress; **une maison assez laide**).—Look at that ug′ly house′ ! (= heavy stress, *a;* **regardez comme cette maison est vilaine !**).—Out of all the group he chose the ug′ly house′ (= heavy stress, *b;* **la maison laide**).—It is an ug′ly house′, but it is commodious (= heavy stress *b;* **il est vrai que la maison est laide mais . . . .**). Further examples are:

(*Light stress*) He writes a fine hand′ (**une belle écriture**).—We had a fine walk′ (**une belle promenade**).—I am nothing but a humble police′man (**un humble agent de police**).

(*Normal stress*) The whole letter was written in a fine′ hand′ (**une écriture fine**).—We rarely see a hum′ble police′man (**un agent humble**).—Then he told us an ama′zing sto′ry about his early adventures (**une histoire étonnante**).—I should like a cup of strong′ tea′ and a few biscuits (**de thé un peu fort**).—Just then a tall′ man′ entered (**un homme de haute taille**).—He stooped and picked a red′ flow′er growing at his feet (**une fleur rouge**).

(*Heavy stress, a*) He writes a *fine′* hand′ ! (**une écriture fort belle**).—We had a *fine′* walk′ ! (**une promenade tout à fait charmante**).—He told an *ama′zing* sto′ry! (**une histoire très étonnante**).

(*Heavy stress, b*) I like *strong′* tea′, but I object to its being bitter (**je veux bien que mon thé soit fort, mais . . .**).—Even a tall′ man′ can stand erect in this doorway (**un homme de haute taille**).—From among the various colors he chose a red′ flow′er (**une fleur rouge**).

Thus we see that distinguishing adjectives will have either the normal or the heavy stress. For both of these, the same accent symbol has been used throughout this paper, but it is important to keep in mind the existence of the two types; otherwise there is a risk of confusing normal stress with light stress, and of being misled into thinking that, when the heavy stress is absent from a distinguishing adjective, the adjective is therefore proclitic. It may be further noted that, where the French feels the need of making the distinction which the English renders by heavy stress, it usually accomplishes this either by adding an intensive adverb to the adjective, or by recasting the sentence in such a way as to increase the prominence of the adjective.

In order to simplify as far as possible the discussion, expiratory force is the only element in accent that has so far been considered. The other main element involved, the difference in pitch which is invariably associated with difference in stress, is subject to modification by factors extraneous to the subject of this paper. In general, greater expiratory

force and higher pitch are regularly associated; but as this accent-pitch frequently shades off, even within the same syllable, into a much lower or a much higher note due to the sentence inflexion, it is difficult to analyze it simply with the aid of the ear.[6]

In many of the sentences used as illustrations, another speaker might accent the adjectives in a different fashion, or my own accentuation might vary according to the context. This is natural, but it implies, not an invalidation of the foregoing analysis, but a change in the character of the adjective according to the setting, or even according to the speaker's point of view. In written English, more responsibility is thrown on the reader for the interpretation of the character of the adjective than in written French, since the adjective stress, which would furnish in English the key, is not indicated and must be decided from the context or from the reader's own feeling. It should, however, be recognized that the question of how near the "light-stressed" adjective approaches to being fully proclitic, and the exact amount of stress that should be embraced in the term "normal-stress," are problems too delicate for the lines of demarcation to be rigorously determined by the ear, particularly by the ear of a single observer.[7]

[6] An effort to note by the ear and to indicate by means of curved lines the pitch of the sounds and syllables in specimens of English, French and German prose and verse has been made by Daniel Jones in *Intonation Curves*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, 80 pp. Professor Hermann Collitz of the Johns Hopkins University is making a careful study of the pitch of adjectives in connected discourse; I am indebted to him for helpful criticisms and suggestions, and for the term "normal" as applied to adjectives with the prevailing accentuation.

[7] Sweet (*Phil. Soc. Transactions*, 1880-81: Proceedings, pp. 4-6, and pp. 26-27; and *Primer of Spoken English*,[4] Oxford, 1906, pp. 2-3, and pp. 27-31) has discussed the accent of word combinations, paying special attention to the stress of compound words. Of adjectives he merely says (*Primer*, p. 29) that in the combination of adjectives with nouns even stress is the rule. Svedelius ("Sur la

It is interesting to parallel corresponding passages in French and English with a view to comparing the treatment of the adjectives. An experiment upon one of Poe's stories and Charles Baudelaire's translation led me to mistrust the use of an English text as the basis, since the translator seems by the placing of the English adjectives to be disposed to an abnormally frequent use of fore-position. This disturbing element can be eliminated if a work is chosen for which the French text forms the original version, though the delicate shadings given by the French position is then not infrequently missing from the translation.

Since in many instances the interpretation of the character of the adjectives is a matter of view point, as may be seen from the possibility of hesitating, in not a few cases within the French itself, between fore-position and post-position, and since the differences in mental attitude toward the specific adjectives are likely to be numerous when we pass from the French to another language, it is to be anticipated that there will be a lack of exact correspondence in individual instances between French position and English stress. Further, as the accentual interpretation of an English passage is difficult to determine with accuracy and depends upon the reader, the elements of uncertainty are too numerous to make definite statistics attainable, or the attempt to attain them of any great value. I have, however, ventured to count and classify the adjective usage in the opening pages of France's *Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*,[8] using for the English the translation of Lafcadio Hearn.[9]

place de l'adjectif qualificatif français," Mélanges-Wahlund, Mâcon, 1896, pp. 75-93) suggested a parallelism between position in the French adjective and stress in the German, a suggestion which met with disapproval from the critics (See Tobler, *ASNS.*, Vol. 96, p. 428).

[8] Paris, Calmann-Lévy, pp. 1-17.

[9] New York, Harper, 1890, pp. 1-14. For a portion of the text of the comparison see the end of this chapter.

I include only those adjectives of the French text preserved as attributive adjectives in the English translation. According to my reading of the adjective accent in the English, I found the following situation: (*a*) Out of the cases of French post-position (61 in all), the English shows normal stress or heavy stress in 58 cases, and light stress in 3 cases; or almost complete agreement. (*b*) In the cases of fore-position where the adjectives are such as would precede even if they serve to distinguish (50 in all), the English shows light stress in 33 cases, and normal stress or heavy stress in 17 cases. This class is naturally of little value for purposes of comparison. (*c*) There are 31 other cases of fore-position. Here the light stress which in English would represent the equivalent occurs in only 14 cases, the other 17 having normal stress or heavy stress.

A similar analysis of the first chapter of Mérimée's *Colomba*[10] shows agreement according to my interpretation, as follows: for (*a*), in 24 cases out of 24; for (*b*), in 10 cases out of 14; for (*c*), in only 4 cases out of 11.

The above figures would indicate that the tendency to interpret adjectives as epithets, in which modern French, and particularly modern conversational French, shows moderation, is even less in vogue in English. That such a tendency is not wholly lacking in English appears with especial clearness in many of the examples of group (*b*), but the English tends strongly the other way. In fact the testimony for this in the passages I have chosen is possibly even more pronounced than my figures indicate, since I believe that the average reader, where his interpretation differs from mine, would decrease rather than increase the number of cases of light stress.

It is manifest that the general equivalence between French position and English accent is too difficult of application and

[10] Boston, Heath, 1899; and English translation by the Lady Mary Loyd, New York, Collier, 1901.

too subjective in character to be of the slightest value as a rule of thumb; and yet a comprehension of the principle conduces to a clearer perception of the delicate and delicious savor of a French adjective discriminatingly placed.

As to the relative merit of the methods employed in the two languages to differentiate between distinguishing adjectives and epithets, each system has its advantages. The English provides a ready and effective means for a speaker to give the desired shading as he renders his thought into words, but does not as satisfactorily lend itself to the reconstitution of an author's thought from its written expression, and therefore puts an extra burden on the reader. The French facilitates the rendering of shadings through the written form, and thus possesses a stylistic resource lacking in the written English. Literary French, in the search for stylistic effect, tends to strengthen the use of epithets, and French grammarians, in helping to associate certain meanings with fore-position, have aided this tendency. English, in which the difference between epithet and distinguishing adjective can not be indicated in the written form and has remained beyond the touch or ken of grammarians, shows a much rarer use of the epithet. Spoken French will naturally be found in this respect in closer accord with English than is written French.

As a specimen of the system used in comparing adjectives in the two languages, I append about one half of the passage from Anatole France for which statistics have been given in this chapter, joining to it Hearn's translation. I omit a number of clauses and sentences containing no attributive adjectives preserved as such in the translation. As already said, the English stress as here noted represents simply the present author's interpretation of his own pronunciation. Others would certainly in some cases read the words with a different stress. The symbols inserted in brackets after the adjectives of the French text are to be interpreted as follows:

[1]: the French adjective is in post-position; the English shows accord by employing a normal-stressed or heavy-stressed adjective.

[1x]: The French adjective is in post-position; the English, on the contrary, employs a light-stressed adjective.

[2]: the French adjective is in fore-position; the English shows accord by employing a light-stressed adjective.

[2x]: the French adjective is in fore-position; the English, on the contrary, employs a normal-stressed or heavy-stressed adjective.

[3]: the French adjective is in fore-position, but is one of the adjectives which precede whether used as epithets or not; the English employs a light-stressed adjective.

[3x]: the French adjective is in fore-position, but is one of the adjectives which precede whether used as epithets or not; the English employs a normal-stressed or heavy-stressed adjective.

Un souffle égal [1] soulevait sa fourrure épaisse [1] et légère [1].
His thick fine fur rose and fell with his regular breathing.

A mon approche, il coula doucement ses prunelles d'agate entre ses
At my coming, he slowly slipped a glance of his agate eyes at me from

paupières mi-closes [1] qu'il referma presque aussitôt. . . .
between his half-opened lids, which he closed again almost at once. . . .

Hamilcar, prince somnolent [1] de la cité des livres, gardien
Hamilcar, somnolent Prince of the City of Books—thou guardian

nocturne! tu défends contre de vils [2] rongeurs les manuscrits
nocturnal! Thou dost defend from vile nibblers those books

et les imprimés que le vieux [3] savant acquit au prix d'un modique
which the old savant acquired at the cost of his slender savings

[2x] pécule et d'un zèle infatigable [1]. Dans cette bibliothèque
and indefatigable zeal. Sleep, Hamilcar, softly

silencieuse, que protègent tes vertus militaires [1], Hamilcar, dors
as a sultana, in this library that shelters thy military virtues;

avec la mollesse d'une sultane! Car tu réunis en ta personne
for verily in thy person are united the formidable aspect of a

l'aspect formidable [1] d'un guerrier tartare [1] à la grâce appe-
Tartar warrior and the slumbrous grace of a woman of the Orient.

santie [1] d'une femme d'Orient. Héroïque [2] et voluptueux [2]
Sleep, thou heroic and voluptuous

Hamilcar, dors en attendant l'heure où les souris danseront, au
Hamilcar, while awaiting that moonlight hour in which the mice

clair de la lune, devant les Acta Sanctorum des doctes [2]
will come forth to danse before the Acta Sanctorum of the learned

Bollandistes. . . . Hamilcar m'avertit en abaissant les oreilles et
Bollandists. . . . Hamilcar notified me by lowering his ears and

en plissant la peau zébrée [1] de son front, qu'il était malséant de
by wrinkling the striped skin of his brow that it was bad taste on
déclamer ainsi. . . . C'était un petit [3x] homme, un
my part so to declaim. . . . He was a little man—a poor little
pauvre [3] petit [3] homme de mine chétive [1], vêtu d'une mince
man of puny appearance, wearing a thin jacket.
[2x] jaquette. Il s'avança vers moi en faisant une quantité de
He approached me with a number of little bows and
petits [3] saluts et de petits sourires. . . . Je songeai, en le voyant,
smiles. . . . I thought, as I looked
à un écureuil blessé [1]. Il portait sous son bras une toilette
at him, of a wounded squirrel. He carried under his arm a green
verte [1] qu'il posa sur une chaise; puis, défaisant les quatre [3]
toilette, which he put upon a chair; then unfastening the four corners
oreilles de la toilette, il découvrit un tas de petits [3] livres
of the toilette, he uncovered a heap of little yellow books. . . .
jaunes [1]. . . . Je fais la place pour les principales [2x] maisons
I represent the leading houses of the capital, and
de la capitale, et, dans l'espoir que vous voudrez bien m'honorer
in the hope that you will kindly honor me with your confidence,
de votre confiance, je prends la liberté de vous offrir quelques [3]
I take the liberty to offer you a few novelties.
nouveautés. Dieux bons! [1] dieux justes! [1] quelles nouveautés
Kind gods! just gods! such novelties as the homunculus
m'offrit l'homonculus Coccoz! Le premier [3x] volume qu'il me
Coccoz showed me! The first volume that he put in
mit dans la main fut l'Histoire de la Tour de Nesle. . . . C'est un
my hand was l'Histoire de la Tour de Nesle. . . . It is a
livre historique [1], me dit-il en souriant, un livre d'histoire
historical book, he said to me, with a smile—a book of real
véritable [1]. . . . Vous risqueriez de la garder toute [3] votre
history. . . . You would run the risk of keeping it all your
vie dans votre serge verte. . . . Certainement, monsieur, me
life in that green-baize of yours. . . . Certainly, Monsieur, the little
répondit le petit [3] homme, par pure [2] complaisance. . . Si vous
man answered, out of pure good-nature. . . . If you
voulez me rappeler les règles du bésigue, rendez-moi mon vieil [3]
want to make me remember the rules of bésigue, give me back my
ami Bignan, avec qui je jouais aux cartes, chaque [3] soir, avant que
old friend Bignan, with whom I used to play cards every evening

les cinq [3] académies l'eussent conduit solennement au cimetière,
before the Five Academies solemnly escorted him to the cemetery;
ou bien encore abaissez à la frivolité des jeux humaines [1] la
or else bring down to the frivolous level of human amusements the
grave [2] intelligence d'Hamilcar que vous voyez dormant sur ce
grave intelligence of Hamilcar, whom you see on that cushion, for he
coussin, car il est aujourd'hui le seul [3x] compagnon de mes soirées.
is the sole companion of my evenings.
Le sourire du petit [3] homme devint vague et effaré. Voici, me
The little man's smile became vague and uneasy. Here, he
dit-il, un recueil nouveau [1] de divertissements de société, facéties et
said, is a new collection of society amusements—jokes and puns—
calembours, avec les moyens de changer une rose rouge [1] en rose
with a recipe for changing a red rose to a white rose. . . .
blanche [1]. . . . Quant aux facéties, il me suffisait de celles que
As to jokes I was satisfied with those which I
je me permettais, sans le savoir, dans le cours de mes travaux
unconsciously permitted myself to make in the course of my scientific
scientifiques [1]. L'homonculus m'offrit son dernier [3x] livre avec
labors. The homunculus offered me his last book, with
son dernier [3x] sourire. . . . J'avais saisi les pincettes, et c'est
his last smile. . . . I had taken hold of the tongs, and,
en les agitant avec vivacité que je répondis à mon visiteur com-
brandishing them energetically, I replied to my commercial visi-
mercial [1]. . . . Votre petit [3] livre jaune [1x] me donnera-t-il
tor. . . . Is your little yellow book able to give me the
la clef de celui-là?. . . . Le livre est complet et pas cher: un [3x]
key to that?. . . . The book is complete, and not dear—one
franc vingt-cinq [3x] centimes, monsieur. . . . Je puis dire chaque
franc twenty-five centimes, Monsieur. . . . I am able to say
[3] soir: Seigneur. . . . Ayant ainsi parlé, ma gouvernante aida
every night: Lord. . . . And with these words my housekeeper
le petit [3] homme à renfermer sa pacotille dans la toilette
helped the little man to fasten up his stock again within the green
verte [1]. L'homonculus Coccoz ne souriait plus. Ses
toilette. The homunculus Coccoz had ceased to smile. His
traits détendus [1] prirent une telle expression de souffrance que
relaxed features took such an expression of suffering that I felt
je fus aux regrets d'avoir raillé un homme aussi malheureux [1].
sorry to have made fun of so unhappy a man.

Je le rappelai et lui dis que j'avais lorgné du coin de l'œil l'Histoire
I called him back, and told him that I had caught a glimpse of a copy
d'Estelle et de Némorin, . . . et que j'achèterais volontiers, à un
of the Histoire d'Estelle et de Némorin, . . . and that I would be
prix raisonable [1], l'histoire de ces deux [3] parfaits [2x] amants.
quite willing to purchase, at a reasonable price, the story of those
Je vous vendrai ce livre un [3x] franc vingt-
two perfect lovers. I will sell you that book for one franc twenty-
cinq, monsieur, me répondit Coccoz. . . . Je vous apporterai de-
five centimes, Monsieur, replied Coccoz. . . . Tomorrow I will bring
main les Crimes des papes. C'est un bon [3] ouvrage. Je vous
you the Crimes des Papes. It is a good book. I will
apporterai l'édition d'amateur, avec les figures coloriées [1]. . . .
bring you the édition d'amateur, with colored plates. . . .

Quand la toilette verte [1] se fut évanouie avec le colporteur dans
When the green toilette and the agent had disappeared in the shadow
l'ombre du corridor, je demandai à ma gouvernante d'où nous était
of the corridor I asked my housekeeper whence this little man had
tombé ce pauvre petit [3] homme. . . . Il a une femme, dites vous,
dropped upon us. . . . You say he has a wife,
Thérèse? Cela est merveilleux! Les femmes sont de bien étranges
Thérèse? That is marvelous! Women are very strange creatures!
[2x] créatures. Celle-ci doit être une pauvre [2] petite [3] femme.
This one must be a very unfortunate little woman.

Je ne sais trop ce qu'elle est, me répondit Thérèse. . . . Elle coule
I don't really know what she is, answered Thérèse. . . . She makes
des yeux luisants [1]. . . . On les a pris dans le grenier. . . . en
soft eyes at people. . . . They allowed the couple to occupy the
considération de ce que le mari est malade et la femme dans un état
attic in consideration of the fact that the husband is sick and the
intéressant [1]. . . . Ils avaient bien besoin
wife in an interesting condition. . . . They must have been very
d'avoir un enfant! Thérèse, répondis-je, ils n'en avaient sans
badly off for a child! Thérèse, I replied, they had no need of a
doute nul [3x] besoin. . . . Il faut une prudence exemplaire [1]
child, doubtless. . . . One must have exceptional prudence to
pour déjouer les ruses de la nature. . . . Quant aux robes de soie,
defeat Nature's schemes. . . . As for silk dresses, there
il n'est pas de jeune [3] femme qui ne les aime. . . . Vous-même,
is no young woman who does not like them. . . You your-

Thérèse, qui êtes grave et sage, quels cris vous poussez quand il
self, Thérèse—who are so serious and sensible—What a fuss you
vous manque un tablier blanc [lx] pour servir à table! . . .
make when you have no white apron to wait at table in! . . .

III.

Having finished this somewhat detailed comparison of the French and the English adjectives, we are perhaps prepared to attempt an answer to the questions raised at the beginning. It is manifest, in the first place, that position plays no part, for contemporary English, in determining the character of attributive adjectives. We have seen, however, that there exists a method of indicating in English the distinctions which are made in French. The distinguishing adjective is accented, this accent varying from a somewhat light stress to a stress so pronounced that, in the case of emphatic or contrasted adjectives, it is the main stress in the combination formed by adjective and noun; the epithet, on the other hand, is so lightly stressed that it may be accounted proclitic. Such a difference is natural, for the proclitic adjective pushes the attention on to an accent-bearing noun which it serves to augment or diminish; while the full-stressed adjective holds the thought to the quality which delimits the sub-class to be distinguished.

This situation in English causes us to turn our thought anew to the French. Can the accent, the all-important feature in English, play a part also in the French? There the augmenting adjective always precedes the noun, and, as is shown by its inviolable *liaison,* is intimately joined to it. The distinguishing adjective, except in certain specific cases which are probably fossils, follows the noun, and the tendency to omit *liaison* is strong evidence of a pause between noun and adjective. Now in French the main stress-accent tends to fall uniformly upon the end of the word group. If the union of the elements of the group is so intimate that

they constitute practically a unit, the parts preceding this end-accent tend to be proclitic; if the group is more loosely connected, a stress will occur in each part, but the main stress still remains at the end of the whole. In other words, the French situation is similar to the English: in a combination of epithet and noun, the noun alone is accented; while in a combination of distinguishing adjective and noun, adjective as well as noun receives an accent. **C'est un parfait enfant'** and **c'est un enfant' | parfait'** do not differ from *he is a perfect child'* and *he is a per'fect | child'*. This being the case, the shifts in French adjective position are presumably not due to any basal connection between post-position and the making of a logical distinction, but arise from the exigencies of the French accent, which can not, as in English, be shifted at will to any element in the phrase, regardless of its location. The shift in position is then due to the same cause which has developed in French the types: **c'est lui' qui l'a fait** and **il l'a fait, lui'** as the equivalents of the English *he' did it.* If this be true, it is evident that the position of the French attributive adjective has, in the question of the theoretically proper place for the adjective, no such import as the shifts in that position have often been assumed to indicate.

One more point in the French requires attention. In the case of the small group of adjectives which uniformly precede the noun (**bon, mauvais, grand, petit, vieux, jeune, etc.**), does the French, when such adjectives serve to make a logical distinction, have any way of indicating this to the ear? The logical stress would here tend to fall on the adjective, but this is opposed by the tendency of the phrase stress to fall on the end word. My observation leads me to think that from these opposing tendencies there results a compromise by which the main stress remains on the noun, but a light stress falls also on the adjective; so that, in: **si le canif n'est pas dans le petit tiroir, vous le trouverez sans doute dans l'autre,** there is a stress on the adjective suffi-

cient to distinguish it from **petit** in : **mais regardez donc le petit garçon.** This is, however, a matter that could be definitely determined only by the apparatus of the experimental phoneticians.

Clédat [11] has called attention to the close similarity in value between decorative epithets and augmentative and detractive suffixes. Notice the kindred meanings of **gouttelette** and **petite goutte, poulette** and **jeune poule, ballon** and **grande balle, salon** and **grande salle, paperasses** and **mauvais papiers.** Epithets and suffixes of the kind will alike attach themselves with especial readiness to objects with which, in our daily life, we come in frequent contact, and of which many play a part in contributing to or diminishing our physical or spiritual well-being. We know what a great extension of emotional suffixes there was in Folk Latin; the generalization of fore-position for the commoner adjectives of size and age and quality bears witness to a similarly strong tendency in the Folk Latin to employ adjectives for purposes of emotional attribution. The two processes are alike forms of word composition; for, just as the one is accomplished by the addition of a suffix, so the other constitutes the joining on of a prefix, the proclitic adjective being in reality little else than this.

The question of the position of the adjective in French is so closely related to the same question for the other Romance languages that it can not receive definitive treatment in studies restricted to the one speech; but much less has been done in detailed study of the position of the adjective in these other languages, and in the investigation of their phrase accent, so that extensive preliminary analysis would be necessary before a synthetic treatment could be undertaken. This much, however, is already manifest: the rules which apply to the placing of adjectives in the remaining Romance tongues are so similar to those prevailing in French that,

[11] *RPhF.*, Vol. xv, pp. 243-244.

if, as here claimed, it is the rising phrase accent which determined the character of the French adjective shifts, we should definitely expect the Romance phrase accent in general to be likewise a crescendo. It is not essential to the correctness of the theory as applied to French that all its details should be applicable to the rest of the territory; it *is* essential that the whole group of kindred speeches possess, or at an earlier period possessed, a rising phrase stress. That such is the general stress is borne out, for the Spanish at least, by an examination of the phonetic transcription of Spanish texts given by Araujo in the *Phonetische Studien*.[12] Two grades of accent are indicated in this transcription, and, no matter where else a stress falls, there is almost invariably a heavy stress noted for the last accented syllable of the breath groups or sense groups. For the Italian I have found no treatment of this subject, but my own impression, which coincides with the opinion of others I have consulted, is that the same status exists also in that language.

Thus the conclusions at which I have arrived in the course of my study are that the English has a parallel for the French adjective shift; that this English parallel throws light on the true meaning of the French varying position; and that this interpretation of the French status in the light of the English finds confirmation in a least one other Romance language.

[12] Vol. VI, pp. 44-62; 134-150; 257-273. Compare also the following statements of Araujo (*ibid.*, vol. v, p. 159; repeated in his *Estudios de fonetika castellana*, Paris, 1894, p. 118): "La formation des groupes d'accentuation est très indéterminée, et il est très difficile de saisir les règles auxquelles elle est soumise. . . . Par-dessus toutes ces variations, on peut reconnaître toutefois que dans les mots qui finissent les vers ou les phrases, l'accent du groupe est celui qui correspond au mot final." Araujo further says (*PS.*, vol. v, pp. 143-144, and *Estudios*, p. 97) that monosyllabic adjectives, when they precede, are weak, and, when they follow, become strong; giving as examples **vil enemigo, enemigo vil ; fiel amante, amante fiel.**

LE PLURIEL DU DÉMONSTRATIF DANS LES PARLERS POPULAIRES DE L'ANGOUMOIS (AVEC CARTE)[1]

PAR

A. TERRACHER

En Angoumois (et en Saintonge),[2] le démonstratif ECCU-ILLE présente les formes régionales[3] que voici :

[1] *a*) Pour l'époque ancienne, v. E. Görlich, *die südwestlichen Dialecte der langue d'oïl.* Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge und Angoumois. Heilbronn, 1882 (*Französische Studien*, III, 2), p. 110–111 (cf., en outre, p. 28–30 ; 72 ; 108–109); W. Cloetta, *Le mystère de l'époux* (*Romania*, XXII (1893), p. 177–229, spécialement p. 181, 185, 189, 192–193 et note).

b) Pour l'époque moderne, v. *Atlas linguistique de la France*, carte 209 (. . . *ceux qui* . . .); E. Herzog, *Neufranzösische Dialekttexte* (*Sammlung romanischer Lesebücher*, t. I), Leipzig, 1906, p. 49–56 (Poitevinisch, nos. 25 à 29) et *Einleitung*, p. 62–64.

c) La carte qui accompagne cette étude a été dressée à l'aide des matériaux que j'ai moi-même recueillis sur place.—Comme il m'est impossible d'user toujours dans le texte de la notation phonétique employée pour la carte, je me servirai des signes que voici : ′ marque l'accent tonique ; . indique une voyelle fermée, ˛ une voyelle ouverte ; œ = e muet.

[2] Le Poitou—au moins le Poitou du nord—ne présente pas, semble-t-il, le même phénomène. La carte 209 de l'*Atlas linguistique* ne permet pas de se prononcer : dans l'ouest de la Vendée, dans les Deux-Sèvres et dans la Vienne, *kelą ki* (= *ceux qui* ; cf. *kele* : 479, île d'Yeu) est sans doute la traduction de "ceux-*là* qui" (on a, pour le pronom, *kle la ki* en Saintonge et en Angoumois) : une carte de *ces* (garçons, filles) serait nécessaire. Dans Herzog, je ne rencontre d'exemples que pour la Charente (no. 25, l. 11 et 13) et la Charente-Inférieure (no. 26, l. 40 ; no. 27, l. 36); pour les Deux-Sèvres, on ne trouve que *tyẽ* masc. et fém. (no. 28, l. 9, 13, 17, 54 ; no. 29, l. 36), v. encore *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, I, 130 (Mazières : *kyẽ sœ̃t* "ces sept," fém.). A supposer que *kyẽ*, *tyẽ* des Deux-Sèvres représente bien *kelẽ* (→ *klẽ* → *kl'ẽ*, → *kyẽ*, *tyẽ*) (v. L. Favre, *Parabole de l'enfant prodigue en divers dialectes, patois de la France*, p. 144 : *thiellaie* masc. dans les Deux-Sèvres) et non pas seulement une forme palatalisée de *kẹ* (*eccu-íllos*), le pluriel allongé n'existerait en tout cas que dans la partie méridionale du département.

[3] Je néglige les phénomènes secondaires de palatalisation et—pour l'instant—le fém. plur. *kelą* dans l'est de l'Angoumois.

	Singulier	*Pluriel*
masculin	*kę́* devant consonne *kél* " voyelle	masc. et fém. *k(e)lę́* devant consonne *k(e)lę́z* " voyelle.
féminin	*kél*	

Parallèlement, on a pour ECCU-ISTE [4] : au singulier *ké* (ou *két*) pour le masculin, *két* pour le féminin ; au pluriel *k(e)tę́(z)* pour les deux genres.

Les formes du singulier s'expliquent d'elles-mêmes ; l'origine du pluriel allongé (*kelę́* et *ketę́*) est moins claire.

A ma connaissance, on a proposé jusqu'ici deux explications de ce pluriel, l'une phonétique, l'autre analogique. La première en date (explication phonétique), due à M. Rousselot,[5] peut se résumer ainsi : à Cellefrouin, *-as* atone est représenté par *-ę̆* (p. ex., au pluriel des substantifs et adjectifs féminins : *váccas* → *váchę̆*, *bónas* → *boŭnę̆* ; dans les désinences verbales : *cántas* → *chăntę̆* ; etc.) : on y a donc *eccu-illas* → *kelę̆*, *nostras* → *notrę̆*, **vostras* → *votrę̆*. Cet *ę̆*, caractéristique du féminin pluriel, s'est étendu au masculin aussi bien dans les mots anciens (*bū* BOVEM, plur. *bū̆ę̆*) que dans les termes empruntés récemment au français (*jădą̆rm* < *gendarme* >, plur. *jădą̆rmę̆*) ; de là *eccu-illos* → *kelę̆*, comme—et d'après—*eccu-illas*, *nostros* → *notrę̆*, etc. Mais, tandis que l'*ę̆* de flexion nominale et verbale tend à disparaître, l'emploi proclitique de *kelę̆*, *notrę̆*, etc., a maintenu cet *ę̆* qui s'est allongé, d'où *k(e)lę̄*, *notrę̄*, etc.

La seconde explication, toute récente, émane de M. Bourciez [6] : dans la naissance de la forme *kelę́*, " il ne saurait être question d'un développement phonétique proprement dit " et il faut songer à une influence analogique. L'article défini a dû servir

[4] *eccu-iste*, démonstratif de proximité, n'existe—du moins en Angoumois —que dans des expressions figées : *d ke tă* " de ce temps," *ket ănę́* " cette année," *dă ktę jur* " dans ces jours " (pluriel très rare).

[5] *De vocabulorum congruentia in rustico Cellae-Fruini sermone*, Parisiis, 1892, p. 14, n. 1 et p. 22 ; comparer *Les modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d'une famille de Cellefrouin* (*Charente*), Paris, 1892, p. 283.

[6] *Le Démonstratif dans la Petite Gavacherie* (*Mélanges Wilmotte*, Paris, 1910, p. 57–67).

de point de départ : ou bien "le féminin pluriel *ikelæ(s)* a eu sa finale purement et simplement influencée par l'article *lẹ(s)*" et "s'est ensuite transmis au masculin"; ou bien (et M. Bourciez penche pour cette seconde hypothèse) il s'est établi une sorte de proportionnalité, d'abord devant les noms commençant par une voyelle : on disait *l om, lẹz om,* un singulier *kel om* aura appelé un pluriel *kelẹz om.*

***

L'explication de M. Bourciez a le défaut de négliger les pluriels allongés des possessifs "nos" (*notrẹ́*), "vos" (*votrẹ́*), etc. Or, si l'on peut à la rigueur admettre une proportionnalité[7]

l om : *lẹz* om,
ke*l* " : ke*lẹz* om,

il est plus difficile d'expliquer par le même procédé la formation de ketẹ́, notrẹ́, votrẹ́, etc., à moins de supposer qu'ils ont été refaits d'après *kelẹ́* qui avait 50 chances pour 100 de ne pas naître. De plus, *kelẹ́, notrẹ́,* etc., se rencontrent en Angoumois non-seulement dans la région où le pluriel de l'article défini est *lẹ́* pour les deux genres, mais aussi où l'on a *loū* pour le masculin et *lā* pour le féminin—ce qui écarte, à mon sens, toute explication par une influence analogique.[8]

Je crois qu'il faut accepter l'explication phonétique de M. Rousselot, mais en la précisant et la complétant.—Remarquons, d'abord, que *eccu-illī, eccu-illos* ont dû être employés comme proclitiques *dès l'origine:* on attend, dès lors, **kil,* **kels* (formes du français et du provençal littéraires) et non *kelẹ́.*—L'étude d'une partie de l'Angoumois où l'on distingue entre le masculin *kī*[9] et le féminin *kelẹ́* m'amène à proposer une explication un peu différente de celle de M. Rousselot.

[7] Ou, plus exactement, une demi-proportionnalité, puisque le parallélisme n'existe pas devant les mots commençant par une consonne.

[8] La première hypothèse de M. Bourciez (le féminin *ikelæ(s)* → *ikelẹ(s)* (sous l'influence de *lẹ(s)* article) étendu au masculin) admet en outre que les formes du féminin puissent gagner le masculin, alors que—pour le pluriel du démonstratif—c'est l'inverse qui s'est produit en français.

[9] M. Rousselot (*Modif. phonét.*, p. 231) signale *kī* à Saint-Claud, près de

La carte ci-jointe est celle d'une région de l'Angoumois traversée par la "limite du français et du provençal" (— · —· — · —).[10] A l'est de cette limite, on distingue, au pluriel de l'article défini, le masculin *loụ̄* du féminin *lą̄* (provençal); à l'ouest, on a pour les deux genres une forme unique *lę́* (français). Le domaine provençal de cette région n'est pas homogène : à l'est de la ligne formée par les trois limites . . . . ., — — — — et ——, —*as* atone des substantifs et adjectifs féminins pluriels (et des désinences verbales) existe encore (plus ou moins menacé); à l'ouest, au contraire, on n'en trouve aucune trace ni aucun souvenir.—Or, partout où —*as* atone est conservé, on distingue, au pluriel du démonstratif, entre le masculin *kị̄* et le féminin *kelę́* (*kelą́*);[11] partout où —*as* atone a disparu, on trouve une forme unique *kelę́* pour les deux genres.—L'on a ainsi, en allant de l'ouest à l'est, trois zones :

—*as* atone disparu.

I). *article défini :* *lę̄* masc. et fém.
démonstratif et possessifs : *kelę́*, *notrę́*, etc., masc. et fém.

II). *article défini :* masc. *loụ̄*, fém. *lą̄*,
démonstratif et possessifs : *kelę́*, *notrę́*, etc., pour les deux genres.

—*as* atone conservé.

III). *article défini :* masc. *loụ̄*, fém. *lą̄*.
démonstratif et possessifs : masc. *kị̄*, *notrę́*; fém. *kelę́* (*á*), *notrę́* (—*á*); etc.

Cellefrouin, et le rattache à *eccu-isti*.—Il me semble plus naturel—au moins pour la région que j'ai explorée—de considérer *kị̄* (*kị̄z* devant voyelle) comme représentant *eccu-illos* → **kẹls* → *kị̄* (d'après *eccu-illi*); cf. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*,[3] p. xvi, c.

[10] Cette limite est simplement celle de la distinction des genres au pluriel de l'article défini; je n'use de "français" et de "provençal" que pour des raisons de commodité.

[11] Dans la région occupée par les hachures en rouge, *kelę́* est en train de supplanter un masculin *kị̄* plus ancien; il n'y a pas là extension du féminin (*kelę́*) au masculin, mais pénétration du type uniformisé de l'ouest et du nord-ouest.

**Keloṵ(z)*, **kelą́(z)* n'existant pas dans les zones II et III,[12] l'explication de M. Bourciez ne vaut pas pour ces zones ; *kelḛ́*, *kelą́* féminins n'ayant pas influencé le masculin *kḭ̄* dans la zone III, l'explication de M. Rousselot est insuffisante.[13]

L'examen des formes que présentent les *pronoms* possessifs du pluriel (non proclitiques) dans la zone III (—*as* atone conservé) nous met sur la voie.—L'aire où —*as* → -*ḛ* (de Terrebour à Agris, comme à Cellefrouin), laisse place au doute : dans *loṵ*, *lą̄*, *nôtrḛ* (ou de plus en plus fréquemment, *nôtr*) "les nôtres," l' *ḛ* du masculin pourrait provenir de l' *ḛ* du féminin auquel il est identique.—Par contre, de Rivières à Anthieu, les deux formes sont distinctes : —*as* y est en effet représenté non plus par -*ḛ*, mais par -*aḛ̄y* qui ne devient -*ḛ* qu'en position syntactique : *chątañaḛ̄y* "châtaignes," et *d la bounḛ̆ cątañaḛ̄y* "des bonnes châtaignes." On y a, en conséquence, *eccu-illas* → **kelaḛ̄y* → *kelḛ́*, *eccu-illī* (*eccu illos*) → *kḭ̄* ; *nostras* → **notraḛ̄y* → *notrḛ́* (et *notrḛ́* aussi pour le masculin) ; pour les pronoms possessifs, au contraire, *lą̄ notraḛ̄y* fém. s'oppose à *loṵ notrḛ* masc. Cet *ḛ* du masculin est un *ḛ* de soutien.—Il en est de même à Bunzac, Pranzac, la Brouterie, où —*as* atone → -*ą* : *bonas vaccas* → *bouna vátsą ; eccu-illas* (*nostras*) *vaccas* → *kelą́* (*nouotrá*) *vátsą ;* mais le masculin (*louˌ*) *nouôtrḛ* "(les) nôtres (nos)" s'oppose au féminin (*lą*) *nouôtra.*—La géographie linguistique nous enseigne ainsi que dans le domaine où —*as* de flexion est conservé, l' *ḛ* s'est développé, dans les adjectifs possessifs du pluriel comme dans les pronoms possessifs, d'un *œ* de soutien (après le groupe *str*) ; il ne s'est pas développé après *ll* de *eccu-illī* (*eccu-illos*) → *kḭ̄*.

C'est à cet *œ* de soutien que je suis tenté de rattacher la formation du pluriel allongé *kelḛ́*, *notrḛ́*, etc., en Saintonge et dans

[12] *Kelą́(z)* se rencontre dans une partie de la zone III, où tous les —*as* atones aboutissent à -*ą* (Bunzac, Pranzac, etc.) ; mais **keloṵ* au masculin n'existe nulle part en Angoumois.

[13] En effet, il n'y a pas lieu de supposer que *eccu-illos* ait été, dans l'Angoumois occidental et en Saintonge, moins proclitique que dans l'est de l'Angoumois et, au surplus, l'explication ne vaudrait pas pour les formes des possessifs dans la zone III.

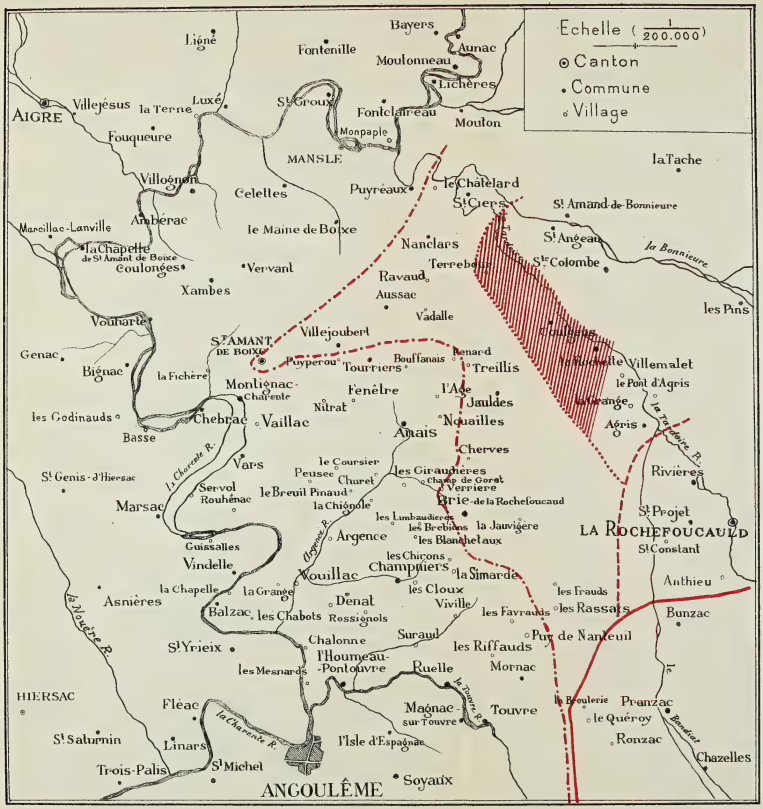
le reste de l'Angoumois. De *eccu-íllos, eccu-íllas* on a eu, en position syntactique et par suite d'un déplacement d'accent, **eccu-illós* (*cabállos*), **eccu-illás* (*váccas*), de *nóstros, nóstras* on a eu, de même, **nostrós* (*cabállos*), **nostrás* (*váccas*); puis, tandis que l' —*as* désinentiel disparaissait comme *-os, -es*, (*vach* "vaches," *chãt* "chantes," *lẹ notr*, masc. et fém. "les nôtres," etc.) sans laisser de traces, les groupes proclitiques **eccu-illós, *eccu-illás, *nostrós, *nostrás*, etc., ont passé à **kelœ(s)*, **notrœ(s)* et cet *œ* est devenu *ẹ́* sous l'accent, d'où les formes actuelles *kelẹ́(z)*, *notrẹ́(z)*, etc.[14]

S'il en est ainsi, pourquoi cette formation n'a-t-elle pris naissance que dans le sud-ouest de la langue d'oïl? Cela tient, je crois, à ce que le déplacement d'accent (qui se produit, p. ex., dans les 3[emes] personnes du pluriel) est caractéristique des parlers de cette région : *hábent* → *avã́*, *cántant* → *chãtã́*, etc.[15] —Enfin, si les pluriels allongés *kelẹ́*, *notrẹ́* n'apparaissent pas en Poitou, bien que le Poitou connaisse aussi le déplacement d'accent sur les désinences verbales, la raison en est sans doute que l'*a* final atone s'est amuï beaucoup plus tôt en Poitou qu'en Angoumois et en Saintonge (le Poitou n'offre que *e* dans les graphies les plus anciennes, tandis qu'on trouve *a* —quelquefois même pour l'*e* de soutien—à une époque assez tardive dans les chartes de Saintonge et d'Angoumois).[16]

[14] M. Bourciez, *art. cité*, p. 63-64, a posé la question de l'ancienneté du pluriel allongé qui, dit-il, "devait exister en Saintonge au XVI[e] siècle, peut-être dès le XV[e]."—Etant donné que Turpin I (écrit en Angoumois, v. Görlich, *o. c.*, p. 12) écrit parfois *nostres* "nos" au cas régime *masc.* plur. (*id.*, p. 108) tandis que la traduction poitevine des *Sermons* de Maurice de Sully donne toujours *noz*, je crois que ce *nostres* (comme les formes analogues indiquées par Cloetta, *art. cité*, p. 189) doit s'interpréter par **notrẹ́*. L'invasion de *noz* dans les textes diplomatiques aussi bien que dans les textes littéraires s'est produite de bonne heure : cf., par ex., pour le féminin pluriel: "volons . . . . que *nostres* dettes saent paes et *noz* amendes . . ." (Archives Nationales, J. 407, pièce 5, (1283)).

[15] Voir *Atlas linguistique de la France*, cartes 93 (*ont*), 513 (*étaient*), etc. —Ce déplacement d'accent est beaucoup moins marqué dans la zone III (surtout au sud) que dans les zones I et II.

[16] Cf. Görlich, p. 72, et surtout Cloetta, p. 181, 192-193 et la note des p. 193-194.



——— Limite occidentale de *-as* → *-á* dans les substantifs et adjectifs féminins pluriels ; *types* : masc. (*lú*) *nwotré*, fém. (*lá*) *nwotrá* ; masc. *kí* (ou *tí*), fém. *kelą́*.

– – – – Limite occidentale de *-as* → *-aə̯y* (*-é* en position syntactique) ; *types* : masc. *lú notré*, fém. *lá notraə̯y* ; masc. et fém. *notré* ; masc. *kí*, fém. *kelé*.

..... Limite occidentale de *-as* → *-é* (plus ou moins disparu) ; *types* : masc. et fém. *lú* (*lá*) *notr(e)* ; *notré* ; masc. *kí*, fém. *kelé*.

▮▮▮▮▮ Localités où *kelé* masc. a triomphé ou triomphe d'un *kí* plus ancien.

A l'ouest de ces limites, *types* : masc. et fém. *lé* (ou, à l'est de la limite ———, *lú* masc., *lá* fém.) *notr* ; *not(r)é* ; *kelé*.

PROBLEMS IN MEDIÆVAL FABLE LITERATURE

BY

GEORGE C. KEIDEL

Introduction

The history of literature in all times and in all countries fairly bristles with problems, and this general statement is especially true for any species of literature whose origins are to be found in the early Middle Ages, where Mediæval Fable Literature takes its rise.[1]

[1] The following are a few recent works of general scope which deal with fable literature in its broader aspects:

a. For the latest general article on fable literature see the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Vol. x, pp. 114-116, *s. v.* Fable by F(rancis) S(torr). Cf. also Vol. II, p. 194: Apologue. The article on Fable is merely that of the Ninth Edition refurbished; that on Apologue is almost entirely new.

b. Dr. Michele Marchianò, *L'Origine della Favola Greca e i suoi Rapporti con le Favole Orientali.* Trani: V. Vecchi, 1900. 8vo, xii and 504 pp. Cf. G. C. K., 'Brief Mention,' in AJPh., Vol. XXI (1900), p. 476.

c. H. T. Archibald, *The Fable in Archilochus, Herodotus, Livy and Horace.* (Abstract of Diss.) See PAPA., Vol. XXXIII (1902), pp. lxxxviii-xc. Cf. also JHUC., Vol. XXIX (1910), p. 38.

d. G. B. Zoppi, *La Morale della Favola (Tempi Antichi e Medioevo).* Milano: tipografia editrice L. F. Cogliati, Corso Porta Romana 17, 1903. 8vo, vi and 264 pp.

e. Aug. Wünsche, *Die Pflanzenfabel in der Weltliteratur.* Leipzig und Wien: Akademischer Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1905. 8vo, vi and 184 pp.

It is true that Æsopic fable literature flourished in ancient times, but the real origins of the Mediæval branch are to be sought in the Dark Ages following upon the Fall of Rome. Classical fable literature seems to have circulated among the folk chiefly in an oral form, for but few fable collections of moderate length have come down to us. These collections are, moreover, of a comparatively late date. A small number of stray fables from this period is also preserved in the literary works of various Classical authors.

The common people of the old Roman Empire kept on telling the Æsopic fables already known in previous times, and they also occasionally invented new ones, so that when the Dark Ages had at length passed away, and the various modern literatures began to be formed on a Mediæval Latin background, there was in existence a very large number of fables.

At this stage of the development literary men began to

f. Georg Silcher, *Tierfabel, Tiermärchen, und Tierepos, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Roman de Renart.* Reutlingen Prog. 1905. 4to, 33 pp.

g. Oskar Dähnhardt, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sagenforschung,* in ZVV., Vols. XVI (1906), pp. 369-396; XVII (1907), pp. 1-16, 129-143. See pp. 3-16: *A. Aesopische Fabeln.*

h. Georg Thiele, *Die Vorliterarische Fabel der Griechen,* in NJ., Vol. XXI (1908), pp. 377-400.

i. The Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, *The Place of Animals in Human Thought.* London, Leipsic: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909. 8vo, 376 pp. See pp. 25, 29-30, 80-81, 351, etc.

j. Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages.* London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, 1911. 2 vols. 8vo, xvi, 613; viii and 589 pp. (gives general setting).

k. Charles Mills Gayley, *The Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art.* New Edition. Boston, etc.: Ginn and Company, [1911]. 8vo, xlii and 597 pp. See pp. 1-2: Chap. I, §2: The Fable and the Myth.

turn their attention to the fables and add a few of them to the traditional fable collections handed down from Classical antiquity. Stray fables were also embodied in various literary works in considerable numbers, and these in turn were passed on from author to author in an unending chain. Side by side with these two currents practically the whole mass of fables continued to live on in the mouths of the people. Collections of fables when once formed were worked over in later centuries again and again, first in one language and then in another. As the result of all these extensive literary movements Æsopic fable literature attained its greatest development towards the close of the Mediæval period.[2]

Now while this general outline is essentially true in its main features, there are a great many questions in the various portions of the field which are still unanswered. It is the purpose of this article to indicate briefly the nature of some of these questions.

[2] The views presented in the present paper have been derived from the comparative study of fable literature made during the past twenty years in connection with the seminary work conducted at the Johns Hopkins University by the late Professor A. Marshall Elliott, while preparing on an elaborate scale a critical edition of the Fables of Marie de France. Cf. Prof. Elliott's announcement in MLN., Vol. VI (1891), col. 442; and A. Jeanroy, in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, *s. v.* Marie de France. As a large part of the material used was found in Mediæval manuscripts and incunabula preserved in the libraries of Europe, it is in most instances impossible to refer to the published work of other scholars; and hence it is to be understood that in the absence of bibliographical notes the data used were obtained directly from the sources themselves.

As a complement to these more general statements there have been added in the footnotes bibliographical data of various kinds. In the first place all the work on this subject published by the members of Professor Elliott's seminary is cited in its proper connection; and in the second place the representative work of other scholars during the last ten years is added in order to round out the survey of the whole field.

Greek Influence

The first large problem which naturally presents itself for consideration is the extent of Greek influence upon Mediæval Fable Literature. It may be stated at the outset that this is probably the darkest and yet the most important of all such problems, and that we cannot do more here than indicate broadly the trend of the various streams of literary and oral transmission which emanated from Greece and reached Western Europe during the Middle Ages.[3]

[3] For Classical Greek and Latin fable literature consult the following:

a. Dott. G. Giurdanella Fusci, *Babrio: Le sue Favole e il loro Rapporto con le Esopiane e con quelle di Fedro e di Aviano.* Modica: tip. editrice Carlo Papa, 1910. 8vo, ii and 143 pp.

b. Carolus Ulbricht, *De Animalium Nominibus Aesopeis Capita Tria.* Marpurgi Cattorum: typis academicis Joh. Aug. Koch, 1908. 8vo, iv and 71 pp. Marburg Diss.

c. Rudolf Smend, *Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans und sein Verhältnis zu Aesop,* in *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* XIII. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann (vormals J. Rickers Verlag), 1908. 8vo, viii and 125 pp. See pp. 55-125.

d. (August) Hausrath, article on *Fabel* in Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswiss.* Neue Bearb. herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa. Vol. VI (1909), cols. 1704-1736. Cf. also the articles on the individual fabulists, etc.

e. For the latest bibliographical lists see Rudolf Klussmann, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum et Græcorum et Latinorum,* Bd. I, Teil 1. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909. See pp. 28-29, 197-203, 363-365, etc.

f. For the latest survey see H. Draheim, *Phädrus und die römische Fabelliteratur,* in BJA., Vol. CXLIII (1909), pp. 55-62.

g. Pius Knöll, *Die Athoshandschrift des Babrios,* in WSt., Vol. XXXI (1909), pp. 200-210.

h. Articles on special authors in the *Ency. Brit.,* XI*th Ed.,* 1910, are the following:

a. Greek fable literature was certainly the chief background of Latin fable literature in Classical times, and thus indirectly of all the fable literature descended from the latter.

b. There was undoubtedly a certain amount of direct influence exerted by Greek fables in both a literary and an oral form upon Latin fable literature in the early Middle Ages, but definite facts can scarcely be cited.

c. At the time of the Crusades it is likely that a considerable amount of Greek fable literature filtered back into Western Europe through the medium of those who returned from the East. Definite facts are again wanting.[4]

d. At other times as well it is likely that ordinary pilgrims to the Holy Land brought back many Greek fables on their return home, but certain instances are not known.

e. Finally at the time of the Renaissance there was a large importation into Western Europe of Greek fables in a literary form by way of Byzantium. It is this part of the Greek field which is at present better known to scholars than any other, but even here problems are numerous. For instance,

Vol. I, pp. 276-277: Æsop;
Vol. II, p. 168: Aphthonius;
Vol. III, pp. 59-60: Avianus;
Vol. III, pp. 96-97: Babrius; etc.

[4] I would attribute to this source the fable tradition discussed in the following works:

a. Georgius Thiele, *De Antiquorum Libris Pictis Capita Quattuor*, scripsit—. Marpurgi Cattorum: impensis Elwerti bibliopolæ academici, 1897. 8vo, iv and 44 pp. (Habilitationsschrift). See pp. 36-43: De Aesopiarum fabularum picturis.

b. G. Thiele, *Der Illustrierte Lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar. Codex Vossianus Lat. Oct.* 15. *Fol.* 195-205: *Einleitung und Beschreibung.* In Phototypischer Reproduction, mit 5 Abbildungen im Text. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1905. 4to, vi and 68 pp. with 22 plates. See especially pp. 36-37.

c. The preceding work is reviewed by Gustav G. Laubscher, MLN., Vol. XXIII (1908), pp. 222-226.

there have already been listed more than a hundred manuscripts of the late Middle Ages which contain collections of Greek fables, and it is likely that at least as many more are in existence. Yet the relations of these manuscripts to one another and to the early editions are almost entirely unknown at present. It is even possible that some of these manuscripts may belong to one or another of the categories of fable tradition cited above as being prior to the Renaissance period.[5]

Classical Latin Influence

The main current of Mediæval Fable Literature appears to have come from Classical Latin oral and literary tradition, but details are largely wanting. The history of the oral tradition escapes us almost entirely, while the literary tradition gives us only a few glimpses into its being in late Classical times, and then disappears altogether in the Dark Ages. After the latter have passed it again emerges into view in a greatly altered form, leaving the history of

[5] *a.* August Hausrath, *Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung der Aesopischen Fabeln*, in JCPS., Vol. XXI (1894), pp. 245-312. (Describes and discusses more than forty manuscripts).

b. Dr. Carolus Muellner, *Apologi Centum Bartholomæi Scalæ, Equitis Aurati et Secretarii Florentini.* Wien: Verlag des k. k. Staatsgymnasiums im XVII. Bezirke von Wien (Hernals), 1896. 8vo, 40 pp. Wien Program.

c. Dr. Wilhelm Weinberger, *Wiener Aesop-Handschriften*, in *Mittheilungen des österr. Vereines für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. II (1898), pp. 63-66.

d. Aug. Hausrath, *Die Aesopstudien des Maximus Planudes*, in BZ., Vol. X (1901), pp. 91-105.

e. Michele Marchianò has announced the publication of *La Vita di Esopo attribuita a Massimo Planude, Ricerca della Fonte.* See A. De Gubernatis, *Dictionnaire International des Écrivains du Monde Latin*, Rome-Florence, 1905, p. 948.

its changes in the intervening period a theme for interesting speculation.[6]

Direct literary influence of the Classical Latin texts during the Middle Ages seems to have been very slight, the popular versions having a practically complete sway down to the Renaissance.

The Classical Latin influence is therefore essentially a

[6] *a.* Anton v. Premerstein, *Zum Codex Remensis des Phaedrus und Querolus,* in *Mittheilungen des österr. Vereines für Bibliothekswesen,* Vol. I (1897), pp. 1-7 (with 2 facs.).

b. Georg Thiele, *Phaedrus-Studien,* in Her., Vol. XLI (1906), pp. 562-592; and Vol. XLIII (1908), pp. 337-372.

c. Johannes Bolte, *Andrea Guarnas Bellum Grammaticale und seine Nachahmungen,* herausgegeben von —. Berlin: A. Hoffman & Comp., 1908. 8vo, xcii and 307 pp. (*Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica,* Bd. XLIII). See pp. 16 and 241-246: Der Streit der Glieder mit dem Magen. (The author attributes this Pseudo-Ovidian poem to a humanist "vor 1500," and publishes the text from a Cologne edition of about 1520.)

d. Carlo Pascal, *Letteratura Latina Medievale: Nuovi Saggi e Note Critiche.* Catania: Casa Editrice Francesco Battiato, 1909. 12mo, viii and 199 pp. See pp. 91-102 (Belly and Members attributed to Ovid).

e. Georg Thiele, *Der Lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus:* Kritischer Text mit Kommentar und einleitenden Untersuchungen. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910. 8vo, ccxxxviii and 360 pp. with 7 facsimiles.

f. Georg Thiele, *Fabeln des Lateinischen Aesop,* für Uebungen ausgewählt. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910. 8vo, x and 72 pp.

g. Wilhelm Kroll und Franz Skutsch, W. S. Teuffels *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur,* neu bearbeitet von ——. Sechste Auflage. Zweiter Band. Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1910. 8vo, vi and 348 pp. See pp. 210-213 (Phædrus).

h. R. Bitschofsky, *Zu den Fabeln des Romulus,* in WSt., Vol. XXXII (1910), pp. 261-271.

single broad stream flowing along with the whole intellectual life of the peoples of Western Europe during the period under consideration.

Problems of Development

Having thus indicated briefly the questions clustering about the general problem of origins, there remain to be noticed a number of others concerning the development of fable literature in Western Europe within the period of the modern literatures. The accessible data for such a discussion are much more numerous than for the earlier period, but their very multiplicity, as well as the intricacy of their mutual relations, gives rise to a great number of problems, most of which are still unsolved.

This mass of fable literature may be divided into categories as follows:

a. Manuscripts containing collections of fables in Greek, Latin and the various Romance and Teutonic languages, which are extant to the number of perhaps fifteen hundred.[7]

[7] No extensive list of such manuscripts has as yet been published. M. Léopold Hervieux in his well-known work *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1884-1891, 7 vols., has described about three hundred and fifty of them, and the tables of contents to the various volumes of his work give the best brief reference list to them accessible to scholars. For a list of French fable manuscripts see:

a. George C. Keidel, *The History of French Fable Manuscripts*, in *PMLA.*, Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 207-219.

For a general list of fable manuscripts see:

b. George C. Keidel, *A Manual of Æsopic Fable Literature*, Fasc. 2 (not yet published). The bibliography prepared for publication contains about one thousand manuscripts in all languages.

For important recent additions see:

c. Heinrich Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica XIII* (*Index*), *s. vv.* Aesopus latine, Avianus, Fabulæ, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Aesopi fabulæ [græce], etc., in Wiener Akademie, *S.-B., Ph.- Hist. Klasse*, Vol. CLVII (1908), VII.

b. Manuscripts containing stray fables, whose number cannot be even approximately estimated.[8]

c. Fifteenth century editions of fable collections (usually combined in one volume with other works) appear to be approximately one per cent. of the entire number of incunabula published. Their number may be estimated as about three hundred and fifty editions, each one extant on the average in about twenty copies.[9]

[8] George C. Keidel, *A Manual of Æsopic Fable Literature*, Fasc. 3, is intended to contain an extensive bibliography of stray fables contained in Mediæval manuscripts. This fascicule is at present in preparation.

[9] For fable incunabula the following may be consulted:

a. George C. Keidel, *An Early German Edition of Æsop's Fables*, in JHUC., Vol. xv (1895-1896), pp. 42-43.

b. George C. Keidel, *An Early German Edition of Æsop's Fables*, in MLN., Vol. xi (1896), cols. 46-48.

c. George C. Keidel, *A Manual of Æsopic Fable Literature*, Fasc. 1. Baltimore, The Friedenwald Company, 1896. 8vo, xxiv and 76 pp. (with 3 facsimiles). (*Romance and Other Studies*, ii.) The great activity of incunabulum bibliographers during the past fifteen years has brought to light many editions not listed in this bibliography, a second edition of which has been in preparation for some time.

d. George C. Keidel, *Notes on Fable Incunabula containing the Planudean Life of Aesop*, in BZ., Vol. xi (1902), pp. 461-467 (describes editions containing fable collections as well).

e. Dr. Sigmund Scholl, *Guillaume Tardif und seine französische Uebersetzung der Fabeln des Laurentius Valla*. Kempten: Buchdruckerei der Jos. Kösel'schen Buchhandlung, 1903. 8vo, 22 pp. Kempten Prog. (This collection does not seem to be extant in manuscript form).

f. George C. Keidel, *The Editio Princeps of the Greek Æsop*, in AJP., Vol. xxiv (1903), pp. 304-317 (with facsimile).

g. Isak Collijn, *Blad ur vår äldsta svenska Boktryckerihistoria*, i *Dialogus Creaturarum, vårt första daterade Tryck*. Särtryck ur *Nordisk Boktryckarekonst*, 1905. 4to, 401-414 pp.

h. George C. Keidel, *The Foliation Systems of French Incunabula*, in ZFSL., Vol. xxix (1906), pp. 150-162 (describes several fable incunabula).

d. Fifteenth century editions containing stray fables, which are probably very numerous. The accessible data on this subject are extremely scanty, and hence no approximate estimate of their number can be given.[10]

In a general way it may be stated that the bibliographical problems surrounding these thousands upon thousands of manuscripts, editions and copies are for the most part still unsolved. The question of their manifold interrelations presents even more numerous problems which require solution before the entire field can be thoroughly understood by

i. Carolyn Shipman, *Researches Concerning Jean Grolier: His Life and His Library.* The Grolier Club of the City of New York, 1907. 8vo, xlvi and 386 pp. On p. 157 there is described as bound for Jean Grolier a copy of Francesco del Tuppo, *Esopo Historiado,* 1493. This volume was unknown to Leroux de Lincy, but it is now in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan in New York.

j. (Paul Kristeller), *Ulrich Boner, Der Edelstein:* Lichtdrucknachbildung der undatierten Ausgabe im Besitze der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, nebst sechs Tafeln nach der Ausgabe der Herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. In Berlin bei Bruno Cassirer, 1908. 4to, iv pp. and 164 plates. (Graphische Gesellschaft, I. ausserordentliche Veröffentlichung).

k. R. A. Peddie, *Fifteenth Century Books: An Author Index,* in LWd., Vols. XI et sqq. See Vol. XI (1908-1909), pp. 83-86, etc. This is probably the latest and fullest published list of fable incunabula, of which Mr. Peddie has kindly sent to the author of the present article a copy with numerous manuscript additions. Also issued as: *Conspectus Incunabulorum,* Part I. (A-B). London: Libraco Ltd., 60 Wilson Street, 1910. 8vo, xii and 149 pp. See pp. 9-12 and 145, etc.

l. Gustav G. Laubscher, *Notes on the Spanish Ysopo of* 1496, in MLN., Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 70-71.

m. George C. Keidel, *A World Census of Incunabula,* in MLN., Vol. XXV (1910), pp. 161-165 (contains general statistics for incunabula which have a direct bearing on the question of fable incunabula).

[10] As a specimen reference there may be cited the early editions of Johannes Bromiardus, *Summa Prædicantium.*

scholars.[11] It is gratifying, however, to note that some progress has been made in recent years in the treatment of this last-mentioned group of problems; but it is only in the case of the Romance and Teutonic literatures that an appreciable amount has been accomplished. Mediæval Latin Fable Literature, especially in the later centuries, is still a comparatively unexplored field of investigation.[12]

Specific Problems

Having indicated in a summary manner the larger questions which confront the modern investigator of Mediæval Fable Literature, we may now consider certain more specific problems confined within narrower limits of time and terri-

[11] From 1891 to 1910 several hundred of the problems were investigated by various members of the seminary conducted by Professor A. Marshall Elliott with the assistance of the author of the present article. The following comparative studies of single fables have been published, while many more similar studies are still in the condition in which they were when presented as reports to the seminary in question.

a. Georg C. Keidel, *Die Eselherz- (Hirschherz,- Eberherz-) Fabel,* in ZVL., N.F., Vol. VII (1894), pp. 264-267.

b. E. P. Dargan, *Cock and Fox: A Critical Study of the History and Sources of the Mediæval Fable,* in MPhi., Vol. IV (1906-1907), pp. 38-65.

c. H. Carrington Lancaster, *The Sources and Mediæval Versions of the Peace-Fable,* in PMLA., Vol. XXII (1907), pp. 33-55 (with version tree). Cf. summary by J. Bolte in his article entitled *Neuere Märchenliteratur,* in ZVV., Vol. XVIII (1908), pp. 450-461. See pp. 451-452.

d. H. D. Austin, *The Origin and Greek Versions of the Strange-Feathers Fable,* see below.

e. Albert E. Curdy, *The Versions of the Fable of the Peacock and Juno,* see below.

[12] *a.* Ambrogio Oldrini, *L'Ultimo Favolista Medievale: Frate Bono Stoppani da Como e le sue Fabulae Mistice Declaratae,* in SMe., Vol. II (1906), pp. 155-218 (with facsimile).

tory, and whose existence at present is largely due to the scarcity of critical text editions of the various fable collections concerned, and the consequent lack of a careful sifting of such evidence as is attainable by modern scholars.

While the number of such editions already issued is encouraging, the fact remains that they are for the most part widely scattered over the entire field. These editions have been almost exclusively undertaken because of the linguistic or literary interest of the texts edited, and not for the purpose of penetrating into the mysteries of literary tradition. The result has been that the work done has not been coördinated to any marked extent, which would have been the case had the object been to trace out the history of a given family of fable collections.[13]

The above remarks apply only to fable collections and have no reference to the exceedingly numerous isolated fables occurring in the midst of various literary works. In this field almost everything is still virgin soil for the fable his-

[13] As an illustration of the above statement it may be mentioned that of the various French, Italian and German collections of fables roughly speaking only about one in four has been critically edited, while for the Latin the proportion is perhaps one in twenty. The following editions of fable collections have been published by members of the Romance Department of the Johns Hopkins University:

a. Murray Peabody Brush, *The Isopo Laurenziano,* edited with Notes and an Introduction treating of the Interrelation of Italian Fable Collections. Columbus, Ohio: printed by the Lawrence Press Co., 1899. 8vo, viii and 187 pp. with two facsimiles. Johns Hopkins Diss.

b. Enrico Rostagno reviews the preceding dissertation at considerable length for the manuscript readings in GSLI., Vol. XXXVII (1901), pp. 371-378.

c. Murray P. Brush, *Ysopet III of Paris,* in PMLA., Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 494-546. Cf. p. ix.

d. Guy Everett Snavely, *Ysopet de Jehan de Vignay,* see below.

e. Murray P. Brush, *Esopo Zuccarino,* edited by ——, see below.

Several other editions of similar texts are in course of preparation.

torian, for scholars have hitherto mentioned only a few of them incidentally and have not attempted a systematic search for such texts. Indeed it seems likely that the problems of discovery and derivation connected with stray fables are even more numerous and intricate than those relating to fable collections.[14]

[14] The following is a brief and very incomplete list of publications which may be consulted on the subject of stray fables in the Middle Ages:

a. George C. Keidel, *An Aesopic Fable in Old French Prose*, in AJP., Vol. XXII (1901), pp. 78-79.

b. Georg C. Keidel, *Zur Altfranzösischen Fabelliteratur*, in LBl., Vol. XXIII (1902), cols 33-38.

c. Charles Philip Wagner, *The Sources of El Cavallero Cifar*, in RH., Vol. X (1903), pp. 5-104. See pp. 74-78, where four fables and their parallels are discussed.

d. Philip Warner Harry, *A Comparative Study of the Æsopic Fable in Nicole Bozon*, in *University Studies of the University of Cincinnati*, Series II, Vol. I, No. 2. Cincinnati, O: The University of Cincinnati Press, 1905. 8vo, 84 pp. (Also issued separately as a Johns Hopkins Diss. 8vo, 86 pp.)

e. Jean Ducamin, *Pierre Alphonse, Disciplines de Clergie et de Moralités, traduites en Gascon Girondin du XIVe-XVe Siècle*, publiées pour la première fois d'après un ms. de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid, avec fac-simile, carte, étude morphologique, etc., par ——. Toulouse: librairie Edouard Privat, 14 Rue des Arts, 1908. 8vo, xxviii and 304 pp.

f. Milton Stahl Garver, *Sources of the Beast Similes in the Italian Lyric of the Thirteenth Century*, in RF., Vol. XXI (1908), pp. 276-320 f. See especially pp. 320a-320b for Italian fables.

g. Ernesto Monaci, *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, Vol. VI (1909), pp. 30-31 (facsimile of Latin fable).

h. J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Vol. III. London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1910. 8vo, xii and 720 pp. This volume deals with collections of stories containing many stray fables. Pp. 507-509 give an account of certain Latin fables closely connected with the *Esope* of Marie de

In the following paragraphs attention will be called to a number of specific problems that offer good opportunities for scholarly work.

The oldest and most important of the Mediæval fable collections goes by the name of the *Romulus,* and the many questions concerning its origin and early history have been the subject of investigation in recent years by Dr. Georg Thiele of the University of Marburg, whose works on the subject have been previously cited. From the parent *Romulus* a very large number of Mediæval collections have descended, and the inter-relations of this group of texts form the central problem of Mediæval Fable Literature. This problem was attacked with great enthusiasm by the late M. Léopold Hervieux († Mar. 29, 1900) of Paris, but much work on it still remains to be done.

About the time of the Norman Conquest, England played a very important role in the history of Mediæval Fable Literature, but the manner in which this literature was introduced into the country, as well as the early course of its development there, remains largely a mystery.[15]

In the twelfth century an important current of fable literature seems to have flowed from England into Germany and become the source of much of the early development of this species of literature in the latter country. The details of this movement are unknown, but it seems likely that an English monk migrating to a German monastery in the Rhine valley took with him an English collection of

France. Pp. 718-720 describe a manuscript citing "fables de Esopet et de Auianet."

i. The *Donnei des Amanz,* an Anglo-Norman didactic work, contains the fable of the Man and the Serpent. Cf. L. M. Brandin in *Ency. Brit.,* XI*th Ed.,* Vol. II, p. 33.

j. George C. Keidel, *A Fabliaux Fable,* in MLN., Vol. IX (1894), col. 200.

[15] *a.* Cf. D. S. Blondheim, *A Note on the Sources of Marie de France,* in MLN., Vol. XXIII (1908) pp. 201-202 (discusses the Romulus Metricus and the fable of the Nightingale and Hawk).

fables, which he then translated into Latin for the edification of his German brethren, who understood only Latin in addition to their mother tongue.

During a great part of the Middle Ages it was customary to append to every collection of *Romulus* fables a short series taken from the well-known work of Flavius Avianus in late Classical times. It would be interesting to know how and when this custom arose, and much of value concerning the literary practices of the age might be learned by an investigation of this question.

In the later Middle Ages the largest and most important group of fable collections was derived from the work of Gualterus Anglicus, composed in Latin distichs towards the close of the twelfth century; and many involved problems still existing in this group have an important bearing not only on the fable literature of the time, but also on that of succeeding centuries. Hence a thorough investigation of its history is still to be desired, especially for the student of the vernacular literatures.[16]

In the early Middle Ages Avianus was a favorite textbook in the schools, but later he was supplanted quite generally by Gualterus Anglicus. The history of this change in popular favor would be a subject well worth while to investigate, especially in connection with the other textbooks current in the same period. Many Mediæval authors refer to the educational use of fables in their day.

Marie de France translated from English into French what became the most popular collection of fables in the language prior to La Fontaine. While much work has

[16] For some of the latest work in this field compare the following articles:

a. George C. Keidel, Review of Dr. J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *O Livro de Esopo: Fabulario Português Medieval*, in ZRPh., Vol. XXXII (1908), pp. 88-95.

b. H. E. Smith, *An Early Italian Edition of Æsop's Fables*, in MLN., Vol. XXV (1910), pp. 65-67.

already been done by various scholars on the text and literary antecedents of her *Esope,* the influence which she exerted on later Mediæval French and English literature still remains to be traced. It is possible that in Spain her work was also well-known, as it has already been amply shown to have been in Italy.[17]

Vincentius Bellovacensis in the thirteenth century inserted a small collection of fables in his great encyclopædia, whence many later works dealing with the world's history especially drew their knowledge of the subject. The questions surrounding the development of Mediæval encyclopædias in general are, however, still so largely unsolved that no one has as yet ascertained what the influence of this particular section was upon the literature of succeeding centuries.[18]

[17] *a.* Compare the dissertations of Murray Peabody Brush and Philip Warner Harry already cited.

b. Walter T. Peirce, *Correspondence,* in MLN., Vol. XVIII (1903), pp. 127-128 (note on fable LX of Marie de France).

c. The latest brief accounts of Marie de France published are those by P. J. Marique in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. IX (1910), 667; and by an anonymous writer in the *Ency. Brit.,* XI*th Ed.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 712-713.

d. John Charles Fox, *Marie de France,* in EHR., Vol. XXV (1910), pp. 303-306 (probably the half-sister of King Henry II).

e. George C. Keidel, *Old French Fables: The Interrupted Work of the Late Professor Elliott,* Baltimore, 1910. 8vo, 6 pp. (Based in part on seminary reports by J. F. Mason and G. E. Wisewell.)

f. Frederick Bliss Luquiens, *Three Lays of Marie de France retold in English Verse.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911. 8vo, xxxiv and 63 pp. (cf. Introduction and Bibliography).

[18] The latest work in this field is represented by the following:

a. Guy Everett Snavely, *The Æsopic Fables in the Mireoir Historial of Jehan de Vignay,* edited with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1908. 8vo, 47 pp. (with facsimile). (Introduction only published.) Johns Hopkins Diss.

Mediæval French catalogues, inventories and accounts contain many descriptions of French fable manuscripts which should be collected and compared with existing manuscripts in order to learn more of their early history. A similar statement is true for the other vernacular languages, though perhaps to a lesser degree.[19]

The history of the Æsopic fable in Provençal literature needs to be investigated more carefully than has hitherto been done, and especially the influence which it may have exerted upon stray fables in German, Italian and other modern literatures.

The history of Italian fable literature, to which Dr. Murray P. Brush of the Johns Hopkins University and Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of Yale University have already made important contributions, calls for further investigation. Critical editions of the many extant Italian texts would be especially desirable.[20]

Note. In a fire which occurred in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University on September 17, 1908, the original dissertation was almost entirely destroyed. The text of the fables is now published for the first time below.

[19] *a.* George C. Keidel, *The Æsopic Fable in Spain and Portugal during the Middle Ages,* in JHUC., Vol. xx (1900-1901), p. 16.

b. George C. Keidel, *Notes on Æsopic Fable Literature in Spain and Portugal During the Middle Ages,* in ZRPh., Vol. xxv (1901), pp. 721-730.

c. George C. Keidel, *The History of French Fable Manuscripts,* in PMLA., Vol. xxiv (1909), pp. 207-219.

[20] The following are Dr. McKenzie's two latest publications on fable literature, in which references to his earlier work may be found:

a. Italian Fables in Verse, in PMLA., Vol xxi (1906), pp. 226-278.

b. Note sulle Antiche Favole Italiane, in *Miscellanea di Studi Critici e Ricerche Erudite in Onore di V. Crescini,* Cividale del Friuli: Officina Grafica dei Fratelli Stagni, 1910. See pp. 59-74.

The history of the stray Æsopic fables in the various literatures of the Iberic peninsula is still unwritten, although it would doubtless afford abundant scope for scholarly work. In this territory these stray fables greatly antedate in many instances the fable collections of a similar origin, an unusual situation which should be thoroughly investigated.[21]

[21] *a.* Fonger De Haan, *An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain.* The Hague-New York: Martinus Nijhoff, 1903. 8vo, xii and 125 pp. Johns Hopkins Diss., 1895. See pp. 37-39 and 112.

b. Milton A. Buchanan, *Sebastian Mey's Fabulario*, in MLN., Vol. XXI (1906), pp. 167-171 and 201-205 (may be consulted for parallel versions).

c. G. T. Northup, *El Libro de los Gatos: A Text with Introduction and Notes*, in MPhi., Vol. V (1908), pp. 477-554. (Also issued separately as a Chicago Diss. 8vo, ii and 78 pp.) A few stray fables from the *Espejo de los Legos* are here published.

d. Owing to its unusual bibliographical interest the following description of a Spanish *unicum* is here appended.

La Ciudad de Dios: Revista Quincenal Religiosa, Cientifica y Literaria dedicada al Gran Padre San Agustín y publicada por los PP. Agustinos del Escorial. Volumen LVIII. Redacción y Administración: Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial (Madrid), 1902. 8vo, 712 pp. Pp. 251-258: P. B. Fernández, *Real Biblioteca del Escorial (Notas y Comunicaciones)*. Mayo de 1902. Nuevos Incunables Españoles.

On p. 254 the book in question is thus described:

45. **Esopo**—"Esta es la vida del ysopet con | sus fabulas hystoriadas."—Zaragoza, Juan Hurus, 1489.

Fol.—Dim. de la caja tipográfica, variables.—cxxxii hs. num.—Sign.: a^8b-$ghhh^6A^8B$-I^6K^8.—let. gót. de dos tamaños, con capit. de adorno.—204 grabados en madera repartidos entre el texto.

Port. con el tit. trascrito.—A la v., figura de Esopo rodeado de animales, aves y varios objetos que figuran en sus fábulas, y debajo, sobre un campo, dos tenantes con escudete en blanco.—Fol. II: [C]Omyença la vida del ysopet muy claro 7 acu | tissimo fablador sacada 7 romãçada clara 7 abiertamẽte de latin en lẽgua castellana

The earliest texts in German offer a considerable number of stray fables, whose history is still involved in deep obscurity, in spite of the fact that they occur chiefly in the works of well-known minnesingers. The most important problem connected with them is seemingly that of origin, although a careful study of the situation might develop other phases of the subject worthy of the attention of scholars.[22]

. . . La q̄l vulgarizaciō 7 trasladamiēto se ordeno por 7 a jntuytu 7 contēplacion 7 seruicio del muy illustre 7 excellētissimo señor don enrriq jnfante de aragon 7 de cecilia . . . "—Es el prólogo del traductor, en el que se discurre sobre el origen, significación y diferentes clases de fábulas. La vida de Esopo comienza en el fol. III, lin. 11 "En las partes de frigia. . ." Va ilustrada, como las fábulas, con multitud de grabados, y termina al fol. XXVv, donde empieza el prefacio y prólogo del Ier libro. Sigue el texto de los 4 libros, las extravagantes antiguas y las de la traslación nueva de Remicio que no se escontraban en los 4 libros ditados de Rómulo. *Fol. XCVIIv:* "Aqui comiençan las fabulas de auiano.—*Fol. CXI.* "Fabulas collectas d'alfonso 7 de pogio 7 de otros."—*Fol. CXXIX.* "Aqui se acaba el libro de ysopete ystoriado aplica | das las fabulas en fin junto con el principio a moralidad prouecho | sa a la correccion 7 avisamiēto de la vida humana. con las fabulas de | remisio. de auiano. doligamo. de alfonso 7 pogio. cō otras extraua | gantes. el qual fue sacado de latin en romance. 7 enplentado en la | muy noble 7 leal cibdad de çaragoça por Johan hurus. alaman de | costancia en el año del señor de mill CCCCLXXXIX."—Tabla y registro.—Retrato de Alejandro Magno.—¿ch. en b?

Por las palabras copiadas del prólogo se ve que no estaba en lo cierto Clemencin (*Elogio* pag. 459), nl (*sic*) otros muchos autores al suponer traductor de esta obra al Infante D. Enrique de Aragón. Se citan otras dos ediciones incunables de este libro, la de Tolosa de 1489, y la de Burgos de 1496: la presente es de las más raras y desconocidas.—Méndez, 66, 137 y 378.

[22] *a.* Reinhold Gottschick, *Boner und seine lateinischen Vorlagen.* Charlottenburg: Buchdruckerei "Gutenberg," Berliner Strasse 102, 1901. 4to, 39 pp. Charlottenburg Program.

The early history of Dutch fable literature has never been carefully investigated, and much work still remains to be done in this field, especially in connection with the origin and early development of the Animal Epic.

English fable literature prior to the time of Caxton is involved in wellnigh unfathomable mystery, although it evidently must have had a history extending over at least four centuries. The superimposed French influence due to the Norman Conquest no doubt aided largely in suppressing literary treatment of the fable during its sway, and thus brought about an almost total blank in English texts belonging to this field.[23]

b. Gustav Ehrismann, *Der Renner von Hugo von Trimberg,* herausgegeben von —. Tübingen: gedruckt für den Litterarischen Verein in Stuttgart, 1908-1909. 3 vols. 8vo, IV, 396; IV, 315; IV and 317 pp. (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,* 247, 248 and 252.) This work contains numerous stray fables.

c. Gustav Rosenhagen, *Kleinere Mittelhochdeutsche Erzählungen, Fabeln und Lehrgedichte.* III. *Die Heidelberger Handschrift cod. Pal. germ.* 341, herausgegeben von ——. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1909. 8vo, iv, xlii and 252 pp. (with two facsimiles). (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters,* Bd. xvii). Cf. also Bd. IV (1904) and Bd. XIV (1908).

d. Ency. Brit., XI*th Ed.,* Vol. IV, p. 203: Ulrich Boner.

[23] On the subject of English and Scotch fable literature in the Middle Ages the following recent publications may be consulted with profit:

a. G. Gregory Smith, *The Poems of Robert Henrysoun,* edited by —, Vol. II. [Fables]. Edinburgh and London: printed for the Society by William Blackwood and Sons, 1906. 8vo, xxii and 327 pp. (with four facsimiles). (*Scottish Text Society,* 55).

b. Wm. H. Hulme, *A Valuable Middle English Manuscript,* in MPhi., Vol. IV (1906), pp. 67-73. This manuscript probably contains stray English fables hitherto unknown to scholars.

c. Henry Seidel Canby, *The English Fabliau,* in PMLA., Vol. XXI (1906), pp. 200-214 (discusses relation between *fabliau* and fable).

Many collections of Exempla contain a number of Æsopic fables among their multitudinous stories, but our ideas concerning the origin and spread of these fables are still extremely hazy. This statement is corroborated by the fact that special studies of individual fables commonly find here the most difficult portion of the whole Mediæval field. Hence a host of problems present themselves in this connection.[24]

d. Max Plessow, *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay* (1726), *etc.* Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1906. 8vo, clii and 392 pp. (*Palæstra: Untersuchungen und Texte aus der Deutschen und Englischen Philologie*, lii).

e *London Athenæum*, Nov. 3, 1906, pp. 546-547 (describes facsimiles of Lydgate's fables published by Caxton), and p. 550 (describes manuscript recently discovered by William H. Hulme).

f. Philip Harry, Review of Max Plessow, *op. cit.*, in MLN., Vol. XXII (1907), pp. 157-158.

g. Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908. 8vo, x and 579 pp. See p. 84, etc., on Chaucer's use of Æsopic fables. P. 105 Miss Hammond states that Chaucer cites the "Storial Mirrour." Query: Did Chaucer use Jehan de Vignay's *Mirouer Historial*, and derive his fables thence? Cf. Dr. Snavely's article below.

h. G. H. McKnight, *The Middle English Vox and Wolf*, in PMLA., Vol. XXIII (1908), pp. 497-509. He gives a list of stray fables in early English literature.

i. *Ency. Brit.*, XI*th Ed.*, Vol. XIII, p. 302: Robert Henryson, by G. G(regory) S(mith), and Vol. XVII, pp. 156-157: John Lydgate, by F(rederick) J(ohn) S(nell).

[24] *a.* Charles H. Haskins, *The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century*, in AHR., Vol. X (1904-1905), pp. 1-27. This article refers to many compilers and manuscripts of such collections.

b. A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad Usum Praedicantium Saeculo xiii compositus a quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de Provincia Hiberniae*, secundum codicem Dunelmensem editus per ——. Aberdoniae: typis academicis, 1908. 8vo, xxx and 178 pp. (*British Society of Franciscan Studies*, Vol. I).

A number of stray fables occur in the lives of Æsop current in the Middle Ages, and the history of these lives is oftentimes at variance with that of the collections of fables which they are wont to accompany in the manuscripts and early editions. The biographies of Æsop had also an independent existence in the period referred to above, and this fact has tended to add to the complications of the situation. The many problems connected with this special field have scarcely been touched upon by modern investigators.

The popular writers of the period occasionally introduce fables into their works, but more often they merely insert a brief allusion, with the assumption that the story is well-known to their auditors or readers. It would be an interesting undertaking to collect a large number of these allusions and then endeavor to determine whether their source is to be sought in the fable collections current in their time, or (what is more likely) in oral tradition existing side by side with them.[25]

Mediæval works of art sometimes portray the scenes of well-known fables, but this subject has hitherto been barely touched upon by modern scholars, although it is probable that a thorough investigation would bring to light many interesting facts. It seems that the source in many cases of the artist's inspiration was oral rather than literary tradition. Some attention has been paid in this connection to the Bayeux Tapestry, but fable scenes are also known to exist on the Prefecture building at Bourges, the Church of S. Pietro at Spoleto, and in various other places.[26]

[25] *a.* G[aston] P[aris], *Une Fable à Retrouver*, in Ro., Vol. XXXI (1902), pp. 100-103.

b. E. S. Sheldon, *The Fable Referred to in Aliscans*, in PMLA., Vol. XVIII (1903), pp. 335-340.

c. Cf. Dr. Buffum's article above, p. 145.

[26] For notes on the history of the Steinhöwel woodcuts see Alfred W. Pollard, *Old Picture Books, with other Essays on Bookish Subjects.* London: Methuen and Co., 36 Essex Street, W. C., 1902. 8vo, viii and 282 pp. See p. 85.

Recapitulation

From the brief survey just given it would appear that the unsolved problems in the history of Mediæval fable literature are of several distinct categories, which may be summarized as follows:

a. The question of the origins of literary species is always largely a matter of speculation, and fable literature in the Middle Ages is a case very much in point. Many currents of popular and literary tradition united in the Dark Ages, or shortly afterward, to form the mass of fable material which was extant in the later Mediæval period.

b. Bibliographical information concerning the whole mass of extant material in this field is still in a rather rudimentary state, and a great deal of such work yet remains to be done on the sources as a foundation for other investigations.[27]

c. The problems of the interrelations of the many texts contained in manuscripts and early editions furnish great opportunities for a thorough sifting of the mass of available material of various kinds.

d. Stray fables, taken by themselves, offer many kinds of problems, which are far more difficult of solution than those presented by fable collections; and yet almost nothing has been done by scholars towards their solution.

Thus taking the field of Mediæval Fable Literature all in all there is abundant opportunity for serious work in many directions.

[27] Cf. *Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Auteurs.* Tome I. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897. 8vo, iv, lxxxii and 565 pp. (Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts). P. 302, col. 2: Æsopus—Voir Esope. As Vol. XLII was published in 1910 and included books down to Du, it is probable that the article Esope will appear in 1912, in Vol. XLVI. As this library is the largest in the world, the article in question should contain an important bibliographical contribution to the subject.

THE ORIGIN AND GREEK VERSIONS OF THE STRANGE-FEATHERS FABLE[1]

BY

HERBERT D. AUSTIN

I. EARLY FORMS OF THE FABLE

Phaedrus' well-known story [I, 3][2] of the Daw who decked himself out in Peacock feathers has no exact analogue in the Greek "Aesop." To begin with, the Peacock plays a part in only two fables of the Prose-Aesop [Halm,[3] 397 and 397[b]; 398]; and in both cases he is the character held up to scorn—by the Daw himself in fable 398![4]

But the Daw, in addition to this appearance on the stage, is the hero—or, rather, the butt—of seven fables in the Prose-Aesop [H. 8, 199, 200, 200[b], 201, 201[b], 202]. It is among these that the search must be made; and any hesitancy in accepting the κολοιός as the equivalent of Phaedrus' *graculus* ("*gragulus*") which might be caused by the continual inaccuracies of Latin writers regarding the crow-kind is dispelled by the fact that *only in this fable* does Phaedrus

[1] My thanks are due to Professor Paul Shorey of the University of Chicago and to Professor C. W. E. Miller of the Johns Hopkins University for valuable suggestions as to certain details of this paper.

[2] Hervieux: *Les Fabulistes latins*, Paris, 1894, Vol. II.

[3] *Fabulae Aesopicae collectae.* Lipsiae (Teubner).

[4] These two fables, moreover, are not of the ancient stock; they come down to us through the Codex Casinensis group of MSS. which trace back to the Rhetoricians of the II–IV centuries, and not through the Accursian group from the hypothetical "Liber Vulgaris." v. Hausrath: Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung der Aesopischen Fabeln, in Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil., Supp., Vol. XXI, p. 247 sqq.; and his article *Fabel*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*

use *graculus*—as against three times each for *corvus* [I 13, III 18, App. 23] and for *cornix* [II 6, III 18, App. 26]. And we find that not less than three separate types [H. 201^{b}; 201; 200 and 200^{b}] present striking analogies. In fable 201^{b} the Daw whitens himself and enters a dove-cot, in the hope of sharing in the bountiful sustenance provided for the doves. Betrayed by his voice he is driven out; he returns to the daws, but they fail to recognize him and refuse to receive him.

Fable 201 does not treat of wilful masquerading, yet it is more to our purpose in that the *vanity* of the Daw is the motive of his action:[5] a Daw of much more than average size despised his fellows and attempted to associate with the crows (κόρακες); but they expelled him ignominiously. And when he tried to go back to his former companions, the angered daws would have none of him.

The third type [H. 200 and 200^{b}] combines with the motive of vanity the *modus* of wilful masquerading—this time in the feathers of many different birds; but omits all reference to a crestfallen return to his own people or their opinion as to his actions. H. 200 is by Aphthonius [fab. 31], and H. 200^{b} [slight variations in Furia 78[6]] is from the non-Accursian division of the Prose-Aesop. But the accounts are essentially one; and they bear the closest kinship to Babrius' fable 72: there is a beauty-contest for the birds, Zeus is the judge, the Daw adorns himself with the feathers of various birds, his trick is discovered, and the birds strip him by each pulling out the feather which he recognizes as his own. This *assembly* of various birds, and the use of *divers* feathers, are the leading features also of a group of medieval Latin and Romance versions of a non-Phedrine type which includes Jacques de Vitry [CCXLIX], Odo of Sher-

[5] Max Fuchs: *Die Fabel von der Krähe, die sich mit fremden Federn schmückt:* Berlin diss., 1886; pp. 6, 20.

[6] F. de Furia: *Fabulae Aesopicae*, Lipsiae, 1810.

rington [VI,] John of Sheppey [VIII], the *Dialogus Creaturarum* [54], Bromiard [Pt. I, p. 23, col. 2], and versions in Italian and French collections. These regularly substitute the Eagle in place of Zeus; and without exception the bird is some one of the larger kinds: *corvus, cornix* (or *cornicula.* John of Sheppey uses both *cornicula* and *cornix* to designate the same bird)—never a Daw. This unanimous divergence from the Greek authority in the very form of the fable which is most unmistakably "Greek" in all its main outlines, and where all the late as well as the early Greek versions agree in naming the bird a Daw, leads me to suspect some relationship to Horace's epitome of the Greek fable [*Epistles* I 3, 18-20] where he calls the bird *cornicula.* Nine of the thirteen medieval Latin or Romance versions with which I am acquainted use *cornix* (Odo; *Dial. Creat.*—and John of Sheppey; see above), or its diminutive *cornicula* as does Horace (Jacques de Vitry, John of Sheppey), or the Romance equivalents of the latter: *corneille* (Roquefort, *fabulae ineditae* 99); *corniglia* (sonnet attributed to Chiaro Davanzati [7]), *cornacchia* (ballad attributed to Dante [8]); *cornacla* (Venetian dialect, early XIV century [9]); *chornachia* (*Isopo Riccardiano* [10]).

The Greek fable of the Daw who whitened himself and went among the Doves had an apparently uneventful history. The single extant version is so nearly identical in the Accursian [11] and in the Augustan [12] groups of MSS. that it evidently came down to us in its present form from the Rhetoricians.

The fable of the unusually large Daw who tried to associate with the Crows would have a similar literary history,

[7] PMLA., XIII, 205.
[8] Fraticelli: *Canzoniere di D. A.*, I, 274.
[9] Pub. in Ro., XIII, 47. [10] PMLA., XX., 423.
[11] Corai, *Μύθων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγή*, Paris, 1810, fable 101.
[12] Sternbach, *Fabularum Aesopiarum sylloge*, Cracoviae, 1894, CXXI.

if Photius (IX century) had not quoted it in his lexicon[13] [*s. v.* Ἐς κόρακας]. First he explains the phrase by a fantastic story about an Aeolian penal colony called Κόρακες. This is followed by a second explanation on the authority of "Some say"; then Aristotle is quoted; Aesop is next adduced, and the fable is given, with the interesting addition that when the crestfallen Daw returned to his own kind they not only beat him but also hurled at him the imprecation Φεῦγ' ἐς κόρακας. Lastly Aristides' view as to the origin of the phrase is given. It is evident that Photius is comparing Aesop's *explanation* of a *current* phrase with the explanations offered by other writers. Fuchs seems to have misunderstood this, for, in his brief mention of Photius—and of Suidas, *s. v.* Ἐς κόρακας,[14] who is textually the same, in large part—in connection with this fable, he says:[15] "Beide berichten das *hieraus abgeleitete* Sprichwort: Φεῦγ' ἐς κόρακας, das die Dohlen ihrer zurückgewiesenen Genossin zuriefen" (my italics). "The crows" as a synonym for woe and destruction was surely as old as, and probably was much older than, the "Aesopic period"; and the real explanation of the expression—as is more clearly seen in the Latin equivalent *pasce corvos*—is simply this: to be food for crows was to remain unburied, the *non plus ultra* of damnation to the ancients. The phrase was certainly not derived from the fable, and there is no good reason even for believing that it ever had anything to do with, or any part in, the fable.

Leaving therefore a shadow of suspicion on Photius, we shall turn to the third Greek form of the fable—the only one in which *strange feathers* figure. This entirely eclipsed the other two in popularity. It is much more picturesque

[13] *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*, rec. S. A. Naber, Leidae, 1864, vol. prius, p. 215.

[14] *Lexicon*, ed. G. Bernhardy, Halis, 1853. Tom. I, Part. II, col. 550 sq.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

and animated and works up more dramatically to a single climax. Babrius [fab. 72] [16] is our earliest extended version; and for that reason and also because his poetical account so well realizes the artistic possibilities of this form of the fable, it is worth while to translate it here in its entirety: "Iris, gleaming herald of the skies, once announced to the winged creatures that a contest of beauty would be held in the home of the gods; quickly all gave heed, and all desired the *divine gifts*. From a rock that a goat could scarcely scale there trickled a spring, and the pool stood summer-like and clear; thither came all the race of birds, and washed their faces and their legs, and shook their feathers, and combed their locks. And to that spring came also the aged Daw—son of his mother [?—κορώνης υἱός], and fitting to his moistened shoulders a feather from this bird and from that, put on his single self the variegated hues of all; then swooped before the gods, *outclassing the eagle*. Zeus marvelled, and was granting him the victory; but the Swallow, like a true Athenian, convicted him him by pulling out her feather before the others. He said to her: 'Dont tell on me.' But then the Turtle-dove and the Thrush dismantled him, and the Jay and the crested Lark that plays about the tombs, and the Hawk that lies in wait for weaker birds, and all the rest beside. And the Daw was recognized." [17]

This form of the fable—which I shall henceforth refer to as the "Many-Bird" form—is absent from the Accursian group of MSS. of the Prose-Aesop; and this fact, together with its evident fitness for and popularity with the poets and rhetoricians, leads me to judge that it was not in the original *corpus* of *Aesopica,* but belongs entirely to the

[16] Crusius: *Babrii Fabulae Aesopeae*, Lipsiae, 1897.

[17] The (obvious) moral appended is probably not by Babrius. v. Crusius: *ed. cit.*, p. 64n.; also E. Hohmann: *De indole atque auctoritate epimythiorum babrianorum* (Dissertation), Regimonti, 1907, pp. 99 and 101.

"learned tradition." Fortunately we are not left wholly without evidence as to its existence before Babrius' time. Phaedrus' *Gragulus et Pavo* antedates Babrius perhaps a century and a half [18]; but we shall see that the analogies between these two versions result from indirect relationship rather than direct descent.[19] Horace's reference is much more enlightening; he is giving warning to a plagiarist: "lest, if perchance the flock of birds come to claim their feathers, the *Cornicula* become a laughing-stock when stripped of his stolen colors." This is clearly the Many-Bird form; but the use of *cornicula* is somewhat disconcerting. The Latin writers seem to have been very inexact in their ideas about the crow-kind. One almost comes to believe that it was by mere chance that Phaedrus hit on the real equivalent for κολοιός in his version. This much may be said, however, of Horace's *cornicula*: it is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Classic Latin and we have reason to believe that it was a *popular,* or Folk-Latin, word—both because it is a diminutive of a word (*cornix*) flourishing by its side in the literary speech; and also because it is the source of the common Romance words which, in French (*corneille*) and Italian (O. It. *corniglia*) at least, mean both "crow" and "daw" in the mouths of the unlettered. Horace therefore may have chosen the word, instead of *graculus,* as having a certain familiar and passably insulting tone. Another interesting possibility is that Horace was following a "popular" form of our fable which contained a Crow instead of a Daw. That the medieval Latin-Romance non-Phedrine group to which I have referred point to such a source I shall show later.

Tertullian, about 210 A. D., uses the correct equivalent

[18] The vexed question of Babrius' date I have no thought of arguing, but have tentatively accepted 175 A. D. The exact date is not indispensable for the purposes of this study.

[19] It seems, by the way, that Babrius was unacquainted with his predecessor on the Latin side; for in his Preface he speaks as if he were the first to put fables into verse.

graculus in his *Liber adversus Valentinianos,* chapter XII:[20] ridiculing the hodge-podge system of theology and doctrine of the Valentinian heretics he calls their conception of a sort of composite-Jesus an "Aesop's Daw" (*graculum Aesopi*).

But it is on the Greek side that we get the most unequivocal evidence as to the pre-Babrian form of our fable. Most significant of all, because earliest, is a precious allusion by the Epicurean poet and philosopher Philodemus which probably antedates Horace's third Epistle (20 B. C.) by a generation.[21] The introductory words of the papyrus fragment are illegible, but what follows is clear enough: ". . . . taking from the arts of poetry and of rhetoric and from geometry and astrology and music, he (*or* it) has bedecked himself (*or* itself) with the feathers of others as did the Daw."[22] The Many-Bird form of the fable is unmistakably indicated here.

No other clear references which certainly antedate Babrius can be cited;[23] but perhaps contemporary with him are two allusions by Lucian: in the *Apologia pro mercede conductis,* §4 [I, p. 711 R.] he represents his friend Sabinus as reproaching him for acting contrary to the advice given in the *De mercede conductis,* remarking that some people would not regard him as the author of that work at all but as simply parading in borrowed plumage, as was the Daw (. . . τὸν κολοιὸν ἀλλοτρίοις πτεροῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι). The reference in the *Pseudologista,* §5 [III, p. 167 R.] is rendered especially interesting by the setting, which would seem to indicate that Lucian knew a version of the Many-Bird fable in which the cause

[20] Migne, *Patrol. s. lat.*, vol. II, col. 598 sq.

[21] Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 10 sq., states that Horace's reference is the earliest of any length.

[22] *Philodemi volumina rhetorica*, ed. Sudhaus, Lipsiae, 1892, 1896, vol. II, p. 101, fr. iv; cf. p. 68.

[23] On the bare title, Κολοιός, attributed to Diogenes the Cynic, see Crusius, *ed. cit.*, p. 164, note to fable 180.

of the birds' meeting was some sort of contest in which each would try to outdo the others. The passage runs as follows: "A certain person, who pretends to be a Sophist, once came to Olympia to give an oration which he had composed . . . And that oration was like Aesop's Daw, a promiscuous collection (*συμφορητός*) of various feathers from others (*ἐκ ποικιλων ἀλλοτρίων πτερῶν*) . . . And there was great laughter among the hearers when they recognized the various parts."

This completes our list of references up to Babrius' time. But we should err in an attempt to reconstruct the pre-Babrian Many-Bird form on the basis of these data only; for a glance at the appended Table of *Motifs* shows two striking differences between Babrius' version [24] and those of his successors, namely: Babrius' is the only version which gives Iris as the herald of the contest, and the only one which names the Swallow (*χελιδών*) as the bird which first discovered the Daw's trick and pulled out her own feather. The two versions which follow Babrius in point of time, Aphthonius [fable 31 = Halm 200] (cir. 315 A. D.) and Libanius [Progymnasmata, 3] [25] (cir. 350 A. D.), both have Hermes as the messenger of Zeus to the birds; while the other versions make no mention of a messenger. It might seem at first sight that Aphthonius made the change from Babrius, and that Libanius simply followed the former. This may be true for this single point; but we find that in numerous other details Libanius differs from Aphthonius, besides having in his much fuller account many points not found in Aphthonius at all. Now most of these variations from Aphthonius have analogues in Babrius; and we might conclude that Libanius followed Aphthonius as far as the latter went and then

[24] Along with Babrius I class also the Bodleian Paraphrase and Ignatius Diaconus, both of which are merely reworkings of Babrius.

[25] *Libanii Sophistae Orationes et Declamationes*, ed. Reiske, Altenburg, 1797, Vol. IV, p. 854 sq

filled out with Babrius. But even this hypothesis will not stand the test; first because Libanius follows Babrius in points where the latter is contradictory to Aphthonius; and secondly, and still more significantly, because Libanius has points which *first appear* in his version but are perpetuated in succeeding writers, and especially in the Prose-Aesop of the Augustan and Casinensis groups of MSS.; and these certainly are dependent on the Rhetorical group to which Libanius belongs, but just as certainly did not draw on Libanius himself who was a rhetorician and not a fabulist and was not a recognized *authority* in fable literature. The most striking of these *motifs* which thus seem to start with Libanius is the statement that the prize which was to be granted for superiority in the beauty contest was the kingship over the other birds. It seems to me that the only reasonable solution is: that in some variety of the Many-Bird type—which it will be remembered belongs purely to the learned tradition—the kingship as prize was a well-known *motif;* that Aphthonius if he knew of it omitted it because it seemed to him, as it indeed is, a very unconvincing and in fact immoral procedure to choose kings on the basis of looks; and that Libanius worked with Aphthonius, Babrius, and some lost text or texts of the pre-Babrian version before him.

Furthermore, I believe that Babrius' account itself shows traces of the kingship idea: all the birds were said to be anxious to win the "divine rewards" (*θεῖα δῶρα*), though it is not stated what those rewards were to be; and when the Daw is decked out he rushes in "surpassing the Eagle" (*αἰετοῦ κρείσσων*) and the astonished Zeus is on the spot disposed to give him the victory (*νίκην*). Now why this reference to the Eagle? If it had been merely a matter of beauty, and some ordinary prize was to be won, why should it be by surpassing the Eagle—certainly not a *beautiful* bird in the sense that beauty is evidently meant in Babrius' and

his followers' accounts? The eagle was recognized in antiquity as he is now as the king, or at least the leader, of the birds.[26]

Keeping this in mind let us consider that other idiosyncrasy of the Babrian version: the Swallow, instead of the Owl (γλαῦξ) which occurs in all the non-Babrian versions[27] where any particular bird is mentioned as the first to incriminate the Daw. As this does not occur in the Prose-Aesop it may proceed directly from Aphthonius. But note this fact: if Owl *was* in that pre-Babrian version which Babrius, Aphthonius, Libanius and others seem to have used it would be in accordance with a traditional enmity which existed between the owls and the crow-kind and of which the most important Eastern record is found in the Frame to the Third Book of the Panchatantra. Here we find a king-choosing too.

Whatever weight may be given to the preceding, it is reasonably certain that Babrius was using a version which either did not mention any messenger from Zeus, or else he found Hermes given and substituted Iris for purposes of poetic effect. For outside of the fact that Aphthonius and Libanius have Hermes in this fable, there is the further fact that nowhere else in the whole of the "Aesopic" fable-literature—whether anonymous or in definitely named collections—does Iris appear either as the messenger of Zeus, or otherwise; while Hermes figures in eleven fables[28] of the Prose-Aesop; three times[29] definitely as Zeus' messenger.

In a similar way Babrius' use of the Swallow, whether his own contribution or a substitution for an Owl of his original, is just such a proceeding as we should expect from

[26] *Cf.*, esp., Pindar, *Nem.* III, 80–2 : . . *ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖς, | ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος, δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν· | κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.*

[27] Aphthonius, Libanius, Theophylactus, Tzetzes.

[28] H. 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 118, 205; 308, 315, 150, 152.

[29] H. 136, 137, 138.

a poet. For when he says that the Swallow "confuted the Daw like the Athenian she was" (*ὡς Ἀθηναίη ἤλεγξεν*) he not only is hitting off the Athenian shrewdness and talent for litigation, but may also be recalling the story of Philomela and Procne who were changed to nightingale and swallow[30] and on whose Athenian birth and characteristics Babrius himself lays emphasis in another of his fables [preserved by the Bodleian Paraphrase—No. 148 in Crusius]. And he may also have had in mind the passage in the Odyssey [*χ* 240] where Athena perched on the rafters above Odysseus' head "like a swallow" (*χελιδόνι εἰκελη*).[31] Now ordinarily the Owl was associated with Athena and with Athens; Athena's epithet *γλαυκῶπις* was popularly connected with *γλαῦξ*,[32] and Athenian coins bore an image of the owl. Therefore if there was any especial bird mentioned in Babrius' original it was probably the *γλαῦξ*; and if not, then Aphthonius changed Babrius' *χελιδών* to *γλαῦξ* with the idea of making a necessary correction—just possibly, too, through the influence of that Eastern tradition which I have mentioned which made the owls and the crow-kind bitter enemies.[33]

Reasoning, therefore, on the basis of all the versions considered above, I feel justified in reconstructing the main outlines of the pre-Babrian version in the following manner: (the self-evident basal framework is left in ordinary type; the reconstructed portions are in *italics,* with all the features which I have discussed above as admitting of reasonable doubt enclosed in square brackets).

Zeus [*through Hermes*] *announced to all the birds that*

[30] Respectively, in the Latin tradition; inversely in the Greek.

[31] There are many other reminiscences of Homer in Babrius (e. g. the collocation of *κολοιοί* and *ψᾶρες* in fab. 33, cf. Π 583, Ρ 755.) including probably our Iris: with Babrius' *πορφυρῇ κῆρυξ* cf. Ρ 547 *πορφυρέην Ιριν*.

[32] Both are really from the root *γλαυκ* "gleaming."

[33] Aphthonius' home was Asia Minor, and he may easily have known much of Eastern lore.

a contest of beauty was to be held; the prize was to be the kingship. The birds washed in various streams, etc.; the Daw (κολοιός) took of the other birds' feathers (ἀλλότρια πτερά) *which he found there* and bedecked himself (ἑαυτὸν ἐκόσμησε) *and betook himself to the contest* in variegated hues (ποικίλον). But [*the Owl first, and then*] the [*other*] birds recognized their own feathers, and stripped him of them; and he became a laughing-stock.

As I have before remarked, the idea of having the kingship as a prize for beauty is unnatural. The same may be said of Zeus' holding a beauty-show. But Zeus choosing a king of birds would harmonize well enough with Aesopic tradition, for example in the fable of the Frogs who ask Zeus to choose a king for them [H. 76]; as would also an invitation to the birds to assemble before Zeus: in H. 154 Zeus bids all the living creatures to a marriage feast. And on the other hand, an assembly of the birds themselves—perhaps called by the Eagle—at which there should be rivalry in beauties of plumage, seems natural enough too; and this *is* in fact the form in which our fable passed down in the non-Phedrine medieval versions in Latin, Italian, and French. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that while my reconstruction of the pre-Babrian form may hold for Babrius' immediate original, it is after all a hybrid, and is the result of an earlier crossing of two fables: one ("learned") of Zeus choosing a king of birds, and one ("popular") of a contest of beauty among the birds.

The exact relation of Phaedrus' fable to the Greek is a baffling problem. On the whole it seems to me difficult to improve much on Fuchs' hypothesis[34] that "the basis of the version is represented by the Greek fable of the large Daw that tries to identify himself with the Crows, is driven

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 20 sq.

out, and then is repulsed by his own people when he returns. The motivation of this version seemed to Phaedrus too restricted, and perhaps not natural enough; so he introduced the 'Strange Feathers' from the Many-Bird version, substituting peacock feathers in place of the feathers of various birds."

The possibility, however, that Phaedrus found this combination of the Greek *motifs* already consummated in his own Aesop-book is recommended by the position of the fable in his collection. *Gragulus et Pavo* is the third fable of his First Book; and in this book we find that the Latin fabulist, as his Preface indicates, sticks closest to the well-known Greek Aesop. A comparison shows that Phaedrus' fables numbers 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12 and 13 follow closely the Greek fables as found in our Prose-Aesop,[35] and no. 5 has a near analogy;[36] while as we proceed through the thirty-one fables of this First Book analogies in the Greek rapidly become scarcer, and indeed are almost entirely wanting for the latter half. If so be that Phaedrus was using such a *contaminatio* of the two fables, then his own contribution may have been limited to the substitution of the Peacocks in place of the Many Birds, in conformity with his usual predilection for brief and succinct accounts. For his original in such case would have been unusually long. The Many-Bird one alone, as we now possess it, is among the longest of the Aesopic *corpus*. By using Peacocks in his fable Phaedrus could not only omit enumeration of the various birds, but also avoid the necessity of explaining how they came to be assembled, and at the same time preserve the effect of variegated plumage.

However this may be, Phaedrus' fable has far outlived all the other forms and has contributed not a little to the fame of its ambitious and mediocre author.

[35] Respectively: H. 274b, 76(b), 233, 77b, 47(b), 276b, 259, 128, 204b.
[36] H. 258; cf. 260, and 259.

II. The Many-Bird Type in Later Greek.

A reference to our fable is found in Oration XXIV of Themistius of Paphlagonia [37] (317-cir. 390 A. D.), a contemporary of Libanius. His use of the fable is pointed at those whose adornments and acquisitions are external and not of the spirit. This turn of the application is new, though pat enough, but the few *motifs* of the short passage tally with both Aphthonius and Libanius. A certain verbal coincidence [38] makes it probable that he was following the latter.

St. Gregorius Nazianzenus, Cappadocian, was only about a decade younger than Themistius. In one of his *carmina theologica* [39] this good Church father warns vain women that they run the risk of being stripped of their adornment and rendered ridiculous as was the Daw of the fable. The few characteristics of this reference are not sufficient to place it definitely as to derivation.

At the end of *frag.* 87 [40] the historian Eunapius [41] (fl. cir. 380 A. D.) treats of magistrates who get into trouble through peculation and are both punished and preyed upon by more powerful magistrates, who in their turn are liable to the same fate. It happened that one of these unfortunate officials who got caught between the nether and the upper millstone was named Ἱέραξ, Hawk; and this suggested to our historian the appropriateness of an allusion to the Hawk and Nightingale fable. He says: "This man named Hierax being

[37] *Themistii Orationes*, ed. Dindorf, Lipsiae, 1832, p. 368.

[38] περιτίθησιν, Lib. περιετίθει.

[39] Lib. I, carm. xxix, ll. 55-8—in Migne, *Patrol. s. gr.*, Vol. XXXVII, col. 888.

[40] *Historici Graeci minores*, ed. Dindorf, Lipsiae, 1870, Vol. I, p. 270, l. 21 sqq.

[41] I am indebted to Dr. D. S. Blondheim for pointing out to me this passage. All the other references are furnished by Crusius, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

caught by the more powerful one,[42] as by the Eagle, was [like] the Nightingale of Hesiod, helpless in the clutch of the stronger." Here the author has twisted the characters to his purpose, as he had to make this Heirax the one to succumb and therefore introduces the Eagle. But he does not stop as this confusion; he goes on without a break and switches over into our Strange-Feathers fable: "And the Eagle himself differed from the Nightingale in naught, save as it happened to the Daw of the fable, [for he was] stripped of his own feathers as well as of those not his own." Which must mean that the more powerful magistrate, later on, himself underwent the fate of the one whom he had oppressed *plus* confiscation of his own goods and those he had stolen from others. The question why the Eagle (who figures in the typical form of neither of these fables) having been grafted on the first as hero, led to a comparison with the protagonist of the second, suggests the interesting possibility that Eunapius had in mind a version of that type of the Strange-Feathers fable which has been distinguished as "popular"; in which the beauty-contest of the birds is presided over by the Eagle—by whose orders the Daw is properly humbled. If this be the case, then it would be natural for the writer, with both fables in his mind, to introduce the Eagle as the avenger in the first; and his only original contribution would be the felicitous idea of making the puissant Eagle himself ultimately succumb to the fate of the Hawk whom he had wronged on the one hand, and on the other of the Daw who had justly fallen under his wrath.

Our longest prose version is from *Epist.* XXXIV of the historian Theophylactus Simocatta[43] (fl. cir. 610 A. D.). Here we have a new introduction: the birds were suffering from anarchy and petitioned Zeus to give them a leader;

[42] Literally: "by the one who had paid more"; i. e. for his office.

[43] *Epistolographi Graeci*, ed. Hercher, Paris, 1873, p. 773 sq.

the contest of beauty was then arranged. The general treatment of the main body of the fable, though inflated in diction, follows very consistently the *motifs* of the Rhetorical type as indicated to us by Aphthonius, Libanius and the probable pre-Babrian version which I have reconstructed. The birds' application to Zeus for a king, and their reason for doing so, is at once suggestive of the fable of the Frogs who ask for a king [H. 76]; and when we compare the Augustan form of the latter[44] with Theophylactus' introduction the verbal correspondences are so striking, in spite of the latter's prolixity, that there is not a shadow of doubt that he had the Frog-fable before him, or at least very fresh in his mind.[45] The last clause, too, offers a correspondence with the Prose-Aesop version of our Many-Bird fable: Theophylactus has *καὶ γέγονεν αὖθις ὁ κολοιὸς κολοιός*; H. 200[b] reads *καὶ ὁ κολοιὸς ἦν πάλιν κολοιός*. Neither of these correspondences can be traced to any definitely-fathered version; and we are thus led to the conclusion that at the beginning of the seventh century there was a Prose-Aesop collection which even in some details corresponded closely to those which we now have.

The next five centuries and more (cir. 610-cir. 1150) have left no datable version of our fable except the tetrastich [no. 29] of Ignatius Diaconus[46] (fl. cir. 825 A. D.); which as before noted is merely a condensation of Babrius.

From near the end of this half-millennium date our earliest MSS. of the Prose-Aesop, beginning with the *Par. Gr. n.*

[44] Sternbach, *ed. cit.*, XLIV.

[45] Aug.: *Βάτραχοι λυπούμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀναρχίᾳ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Δία δεόμενοι βασιλέα αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν.*

Theoph.: *Ἀφίκοντό ποτε πρὸς τὸν Δία τὰ ὄρνεα καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἡγεμόνα παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς· ἦν γὰρ ἀναρχία τοὺς ὄρνιθας τὸ λυποῦν . . .*

[46] *Babrii Fabulae*, ed. Crusius, accedunt . . . *Ignatii Tetrasticha Iambica*, ed. Mueller, Lipsiae, 1897, p. 275.

690 *suppl.*, of the "Augustan" type (XII century).[47] The variations which our fable shows respectively in this MS., in the *Codex Casinensis*[48] (late XII century?), and in Halm 200[b] (from a MS. probably of a mixed type), will be seen from the Table of *Motifs* to consist entirely in greater or less fulness of detail—least in the Augustan, and most, naturally, in the mixed type. The verbal correspondences show the closest of relationships. The important deviations of the Prose-Aesop form of our fable from the Rhetorical type are: (1) Zeus' messenger is not mentioned; (2) no particular bird is named as the first to discover the Daw's trick; (3) the Daw is said to have "pasted" (*προσεκόλλησε*) the feathers on himself. This last touch is not in Aug., and is evidently an inheritance from Babrius' *καθύγρων ἐντὸς ἁρμόσας ὤμων*, *via* the Bodleian, or other, paraphrase. The other variations are wholly, as will be noted, in the nature of *omissions;* and we are thus confirmed in our belief that the Many-Bird type of the fable belonged only to the Rhetorical or "learned" division, and was never a part of the "popular" collection which culminated in the *Recensio Accursiana.* The only *addition* at all notable furnished by the Prose-Aesop to the Rhetorical form of our fable is the catch-phrase at the end which I have already quoted: "and the Daw became again a Daw."

In the middle of the twelfth century John Tzetzes, Byzantine grammarian, put a version of our fable into his versified mythological-historical encyclopedia [Chil. VIII, ll. 500-522].[49] He mentions Babrius among others at the end; but the Table of *Motifs* shows that his sources were: (1) a version of the Rhetorical type (of the Aphthonius-Libanius variety) and (2) a Prose-Aesop version akin to the *Codex Casinensis.* All indications are distinctly away from his having used the version of Babrius directly. In a sort of

[47] Sternbach, *ed. cit.*, p. 65. [48] Furia, *ed. cit.*, fab. 78.
[49] *Joannis Tzetzae Chiliades*, ed. Kiessling, Lipsiae, 1826.

postscript Tzetzes gives a brief disquisition on the κολοιός which seems to indicate either that his acquaintance with the bird was rather literary than actual, or else that to him κολοιός meant not the Daw but some varicolored bird, probably the Magpie.

A short reference to our fable which is found in the minor works [50] of Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica (fl. cir. 1160), does not offer enough features to determine its source.

Finally, the fable occurs in the *Progymnasmata* (no. 5) of the twelfth century rhetorician Nicephorus Basilaca.[51] In his version, as in that of Theophylactus, we have the birds acting on their own initiative and desirous of a ruler for the sake of security; but there the resemblance ends. The birds hold their own election, and the Daw is actually chosen king before they discover his trick and pull out their own feathers; and the punishment does not end with his humiliation, as in all the other Greek versions, but they fall upon him with their claws and tear him to pieces. To determine the provenience of this version is therefore a rather complicated problem; but a sequence of isolated correspondences with the version of Libanius, and a realization of the fundamental difference in the general nature of the two versions, together with a recognition of the fact that Libanius' version was, like Nicephorus', contained in a work intended for a "First Steps in Rhetoric" and was the *only* other version thus circumstanced—all these considerations have led me to adopt an explanation which seems fairly satisfactory. Nicephorus' version agrees with the non-Phedrine Latin-Romance type of the fable in: (1) having no mythological machinery and presenting a *council* of birds more or less autonomous in its

[50] *Opuscula*, ed. Tafel, Frankfurt a/M., 1832, p. 331, ll. 10-13: [Ὀμωκήσων, stripped of his garments, after the death of his protector, is complaining]. . . Μήποτε καὶ κολοιῷ, τῷ τοῦ μύθου, παρόμοια πέπονθα· καὶ τέως μὲν τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων πτίλων, μικρὸν δὲ ὅσον καὶ τῶν ὑποκρυπτομένων γυμνὸς περιελεύσομαι.

[51] *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Walz, Stuttgart, etc., 1832, Vol. I, p. 427 sq.

nature; in (2) mentioning no bathing by the birds; (3) no *particular* bird as the first to discover the Daw's trick. That is, it seems to belong distinctly to the "popular" tradition of the Many-Bird form, with its comparative lack of artistic embellishment and of dramatic movement. Now if we postulate that Nicephorus had this "popular" form in mind, but introduced some characteristics from the version in the only *Progymnasmata* before his own which contained the fable (that is, from Libanius), where points of contact existed between the two versions, we can understand the situation. These points of contact themselves will present the following variation in the two accounts: that whereas Zeus is the prime mover and the judge in the conventional version of Libanius, it is in the birds themselves that Nicephorus' version vests these functions. Observing this change, the verbal coincidences gain in weight. They may be tabuated viz.:—

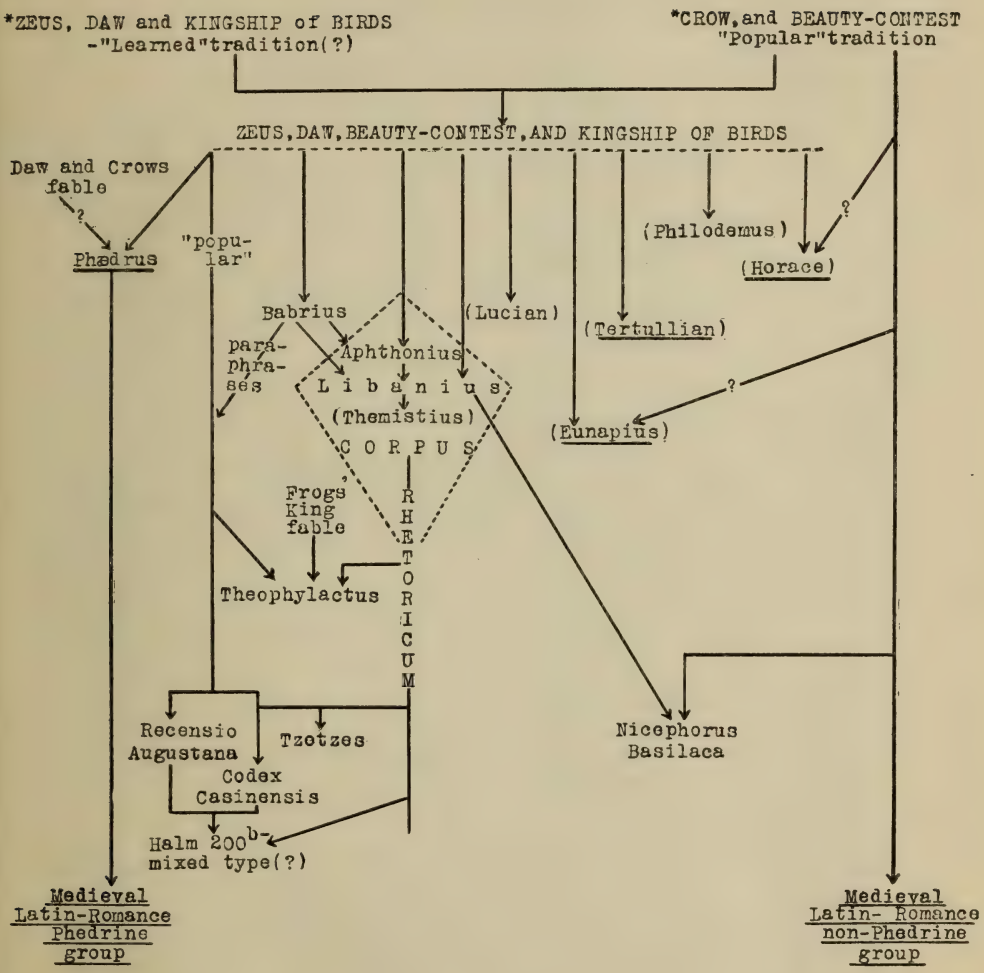
Libanius.	Nicephorus.
Ἔδοξε [1st word] τῷ Διὶ βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τὸ ὀρνίθων γένος, καὶ . . . πρὸς ἀγῶνα κάλλους ἐκάλει, ὡς δώσων . . . ἀρχήν.	Ἔδοξε [1st word] . . . τοῖς ὄρνισιν ἄρχεσθαι, . . . καὶ βασιλέα ἑλέσθαι.
—ὁ . . . κολοιὸς . . . ἐπιτεχνᾶται . . .	—ὁ κολοιὸς ἐτεχνάσατο . . .
—θάμβος δὲ ἐνέβαλλε καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστῇ.	—ἀμήχανον εἰς θάμβος τοὺς θεωμένους ὄρνιθας παρεκίνησεν.
—ἐγυμνοῦτο τοῦ κολοιοῦ τὸ εἶδος . . .	—τὸν κολοιὸν ἀπεγύμνωσαν.
Moral.	Moral.
—τὸ μὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις κοσμεῖσθαι . . .	—περιάπτοις κόσμοις . . .

* * *

Recapitulating: The Many-Bird form of the Strange-Feathers fable seems to be post-Aesopic in origin and the result of a synthesis of a hypothetical Zeus-Daw-and-King-ship-of-Birds fable with one, rather "popular" than

"learned" in vogue, of a Crow and a Beauty-contest, which latter shows its traces possibly in Horace and Eunapius, probably in Nicephorus, and has as its direct descendants a group of medieval Latin and Romance versions. The fusion of the two was complete and the resultant fable already proverbial by the middle of the first century B. C. Its written versions then passed in distinguishable lines through (1) the Prose-Aesop ancestors of the non-Accursian tradition; through (2) the poetical embellishments of Babrius, whose version perceptibly influenced that prose-tradition later, as well as the following: and then (3) ran the gauntlet of the Rhetoricians of the fourth century A. D. For eight centuries more it persists, only to be driven out in the twelfth by the Latin descendants of the "popular" great-ancestor on the one hand, and on the other by the supposititious line of Phaedrus' Daw-and-Peacock fable; which latter ultimately ousts its single remaining competitor and rules the domain triumphant to the present moment.

VERSION TREE -



Explanation:
Mere references in round brackets.
*Starred forms hypothetical.
Slanting lines show less certain relationships.
Ignatius Diaconus and Paraphrasis Bodleiana omitted: both known to be from Babrius.
Non-Greek versions and references underlined.

MANY-BIRD FORM OF STRANGE-FEATHERS FABLE	VERSIONS (AND REFERENCES)																Prose-Aesop		
	(Philodemus)	(*Horace*)	(Lucian [*bis*])	Babrius	(*Tertullian*)	Aphthonius	Libanius	(Themistius)	(Gregorius Nazianzenus)	(Eunapius)	Theophylactus Simocatta	Ignatius Diaconus	Tzetzes	Nicephorus Basilaca	(Eustathius)		Recensio Augustana	Codex Casinensis	Halm 200b (mixed type?)
Fable: [Approx. dates:	—50	—20	175	175	210	315	350	355	365	380	610	825	1150	1150	1160		1150	1175	
Birds desired king, for safety's sake											TS			N					
Beauty-contest (announced :)				B		Ap	Lb	Tm			TS			N				C	b
by Zeus																		C	b
by Iris				B															
by Hermes						Ap	Lb												
Zeus would grant kingship (as prize)							Lb				TS		Tz				Au	C	b
Birds went, to wash				B		Ap	Lb				TS		Tz						b
to *κρήνην* (*κρήνας*)				B			Lb												
to *ποταμούς* (*ποταμόν*)						Ap							Tz						b
to *λίμνας*						Ap	Lb				TS								
to *πηγάς*							Lb				TS								
Birds cast off their shabby feathers						Ap	Lb												
κολοιός	P		Lu	B		Ap	Lb	Tm	G	En	TS	I	Tz	N	Eu		Au	C	b
Graculus					T														
Cornicula		H																	
having no natural beauty						Ap	Lb	Tm			TS							C	b
felt himself to be ugly																	Au	C	b
being the ugliest of the birds													Tz	N					
decked out in feathers of (the) various birds	P	H	Lu	B	(T)	Ap	Lb	Tm	G	(En)	TS	I	Tz	N	(Eu)		Au	C	b
pasted the feathers on himself				B														C	b
Birds went before Zeus				B		Ap	Lb				TS		Tz					C	b
Daw was most beautiful of the birds													Tz					C	b

The birds were dazzled								Lb							N								
He surpassed the Eagle					B			Lb															
and the Peacock and the whitest Swan								Lb															
Daw was proclaimed king															N								
Birds, looking closer, recognized own feathers															N								
Zeus wondered					B			Lb															
Zeus about to give Daw the decision					B			Lb						Tz					Au	C	b		
The birds were angry																			Au	C	b		
Χελιδών					B								I										
Γλαῦξ							Ap	Lb				TS		Tz									
convicted him, by being first to pull out feather					B		Ap	Lb				TS	I	Tz									
and *led* others to pull out theirs							Ap					TS											
Rest pulled out their own feathers					B			Lb					I	Tz									
The birds dismantled him										G													
Daw lost not only others' feathers but also own											En												
Daw lost only others' feathers, not his own																	Eu						
Birds each took own feather(s) away from him		H																	Au	C	b		
Birds tore him to pieces with their claws															N								
Daw went naked to the contest							Ap																
He became a laughing-stock		H	Lu					Lb		G													
Daw became again a Daw												TS		Tz					Au	C	b		
Moral:																							
Those affecting others' ways—							Ap																
Presumptuous people—													[I]										
Those putting on foreign adornment—					[B]			Lb							N								
Those glorying in others' possessions—																			Au	C	b		
Plagiarists beware!		H												Tz									
—end in shame							Ap						[I]										
—have short joy								Lb															
—are laughed at					[B]										N								
—when stripped are what they were before																			Au	C	b		
Seek the things which are spiritual												TS											
Moral to be preferred to material adornment									(Tm)														

Symbols in square brackets denote passages probably spurious.
Symbols in round parentheses denote motifs reasonably inferable, not explicit.

THE VERSIONS OF THE FABLE OF THE PEACOCK AND JUNO

BY

A. E. CURDY

Of the fables which have come down to us from antiquity, none is more interesting in its genealogy, or better adapted to special study, than that discussed in the present study.[1] The versions of the fable of the Peacock and Juno follow, in general, the treatment in their prototype, the Phaedrus, but with variations or additions, some of which reappear in numerous redactions, while others are independent.

At first glance the versions fall into two groups: (*a*) those

[1] The present examination deals solely with the fable as contained in certain versions from Phaedrus to Caxton. The results will not, in all cases, agree with the statements of writers who have based their judgments regarding relationship upon a study of the collections as such, taking as their criteria the order of arrangement of the fables in the collections, the title, beginning, and ending, together with the general idea of each fable. This does not suffice, for it is certain that some writers of fables received their inspiration from various sources, drawing now from one for a certain fable, and, again from a different stock for others. Hence, the fables must be studied individually before a true judgment can be rendered regarding an entire collection. Few quotations from the writings of students are made in the following pages, although most of them have been examined, for, as has just been stated, their remarks apply generally to the collections rather than to the individual themes. In order not to extend too greatly the limits of this paper, it is necessary to treat a portion of the study very summarily. Collections which are not at present available to the writer are not discussed here, and no excursions into the field of folk-lore have been made, nor will any versions later than Caxton be treated.

in which there is an enumeration of gifts to the peacock and to other creatures, and (*b*) those in which there is simply an allusion to the gifts or powers, or no mention at all beyond that of song or beauty. To the former group belong Phaedrus, Weissenburgensis, Vulgaris, Nilant, Trevirensis, Neckam, Te Winkel, Florentinus, Vienna Codex 303, Ysopet II de Paris, Steinhöwel, Ysopet de Chartres, and Caxton. The second group is represented by the Fabulae Metricae, F. Rhythmicae, Bozon, Harleianus, Marie de France, Riccardiano, Laurenziano, and Palatino. This division is of no significance in the genealogy of the fable, as an examination of the summary on the last page of this article will show.

The earliest version of which we have knowledge is that of Phaedrus, c. 25 A. D. (Ph).[2] It is no. 18 of the collection[3] and reads as follows:

PAVO AD JUNONEM DE VOCE SUA.

Pavo ad Junonem venit, indigne ferens,
Cantus luscinii quod sibi non tribuerit;
Illum esse cunctis avibus admirabilem,
Se derideri, simul ac vocem miserit
Tunc consolandi gratia dixit Dea:
Sed forma vincis, vincis magnitudine;
Nitor smaragdi collo praefulget tuo
Pictisque plumis gemmeam caudam explicas.
Quo mî, inquit, mutam speciem, si vincor sono?
Fatorum arbitrio partes sunt vobis datae:
Tibi forma, vires aquilae, luscinio melos,
Augurium corvo, laeva cornici omina,
Omnesque propriis sunt contentae dotibus.

Noli adfectare quod tibi non est datum,
Delusa ne spes ad querelam recidat.

[2] The abbreviations in parentheses will be used to represent the versions.

[3] The text is in L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, 5 vols. 2d ed., Paris, 1893-1896; II, 38, and discussion, I, 5 ff.

This version has no introduction by way of moral, and the injunction at the end is of the briefest character. The incidents are few in number, only enough to develop and illustrate the idea, and are without embellishment. Most of the themes reappear in later redactions. Of the personages, the peacock appears in all, and Juno is a character in eleven, her place being taken in the others by Nature, Destiny, Creator, Goddess, Lord. No Christian element enters into the Phaedrus narration.

The version next in date is the Weissenburgensis, c. 925 (W). There is such a striking resemblance between it and Vulgaris, c. 950 (Vg), Florentinus, 1250 (F), and Vienna Codex 303, c. 1350 (Vn), as to suggest that they be considered together.[4] That they are interrelated is evidenced by the large number of similar motifs and the manner of expressing them. Of the total number of motifs in the group, fourteen appear in all four versions, thus indicating a common source. Only three of the Ph. motifs fail to reappear: *laeva cornici omina; omnesque propriis sunt contentae; delusa ne spes ad querelam recidat;* but, on the other hand, the story receives several additions: *cock tells the hour of the night; swallow enjoys the light; gods are givers; crane makes known the time; thrush broods in the olive tree; dove mourns; bat flies in the evening; nestling chirps.* Omitting from consideration the features in which all four versions agree, we find that Vg., F., Vn. have the *gods as givers,* while W. (and Vg., F., Vn. as an addition) has the *fates.* W., Vg., F. agree in the words of the introduction regarding the recipient. In the complaint all four have the bird as *iratus* or *indignans,* and Vn. states, in addition, that the *peacock comes to Juno* '*graviter ferens.*' Vg., F., Vn. express the peacock's gifts

[4] The text of W. is to be found in Hervieux, II, 188; of Vg., *ib.*, II, 225, and in H. Oesterley, *Romulus, die Paraphrasen des Phaedrus.* Berlin, 1870; 4. 4. p. 30; of F., in Hervieux, II, 504; of Vn., *ib.*, II, 445.

as *nitor, color, forma, gemmea cauda, cauda lucens, visus superat vocem* (F. *omnes voces,* and W. *pulchritudinem superat vocem*), *grus ostendit tempus, in oliva parit turdus, forma superat lusciniam* (W. *formonsam superat . . . .*), *grunnire accepit columba* (W. *grunnit columbus*), *nudus sero volat vespertilio* (W. *nidus fugit v.*); W. has *pectusque flammis,* Vg. *pictisque plumis,* and Vn. *pectore flamme.* The agreements noted place these three versions in a group separate from W. Meanwhile W., Vg., Vn. show agreement in *nullus similis tibi* (Vn. *nullusque volucrum similis est tibi*); Vg. *dolet ritus;* W., Vn., *dolores habet thetus;* Vn.. Vg., *cauda et collo refulgent;* W. . . *lucens;* W., Vn. have exclusively *pipilat nibulus* [*nidulus?*], and Vg., F. have exclusively *fabula narrat, or probat, luscinia cantaret et humana cognosceret;* Vg., Vn. have *omnibus in suo* (*h*)*abundat.* Finally, the moral, or injunction in W. is *vero nolo ut queras illud quod tibi non est datum;* F., Vn. *nolo queras quod tibi a diis non est datum;* Vg. *tu vero queras quod tibi a diis non est datum.* This evidence, then, places Vg., F., Vn. in a special group, and suggests a possible intermediate version of which we have no knowledge; or the situation may be due to the influence of the earliest of the versions, Vg., on the others. Aesopus ad Rufum,[5] now lost, may have contained these separate motifs, which were omitted, for some reason, by the scribe.

The agreement between W. and Vn. remains to be explained. Hervieux[6] states a well-known fact when he says that in the eleventh century there was a fever for correction by more or less ignorant scribes, who, in their desire to give sense to what was unintelligible or misunderstood, changed whole lines. Then he adds that the corrector, in reëstablish-

[5] Collections which are lost or inaccessible are inserted in the positions determined by the investigations of the Romance Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

[6] I, p. 278.

ing the disfigured text of W., had recourse to a text, which was neither that of Ph. nor the Romulus Primitivus, and which Hervieux calls R. de Vienne. Further, he gives [7] four reasons why W. is not out of R. Prim.: (1) The copyist would have followed the divisions of his model; (2) He would have copied it in the same order; (3) He would have used the same dedication; (4) He would not have given, as a preamble, the dedicatory epistle to Rufus, which could be borrowed only from Aes. ad Rufum. In many instances W. and Prim. seem to be imitations rather than copies of Ruf. In W. there occur expressions from Ph. which are not found in Prim., and Prim. also preserves some not in W. Each might have made changes. The conclusion is that Prim. and W. were imitations of Ruf., differing slightly from the model, yet sufficiently servile to give an idea of what it had been. The W. which we possess [8] is not the original W., of 925, but a rewriting of the fable according to the 925 W., with what additions or omissions we are unable to say. Thus we must take W. and Prim. out of Ruf., and it is reasonably certain that Prim. was the source of Vn., Vg., and F.

Nilant, c. 1050 (Ni). Of all the early texts Ni.[9] is the most compact and condensed. It is given here in full:

De Pavone invidente Concentui Philomenae.

Refert subsequens fabula, quod omnis homo debet libenter uti et frui illis donis quae illi Deus concessit. Jam dudum Pavo, iratus et indignans, ad Junonem dixisse fertur: Jam,

[7] I, p. 316.

[8] For a discussion of the manuscripts of W., see Hervieux, I, livre II, chap. II.

[9] Hervieux, II, p. 540; Thiele, *Der illustrierte Lateinische Aesop in der Hs. des Ademar, Codex Vossianus. Lat. Oct.* 15. *Fol.* 195-205. Leiden, 1905.

Domina mea, vehementer doleo eo quod despectus sim ab omnibus, quia Luscinia pulcrius et honorabilius canit me. Quapropter jam ab omnibus derideor. Cui Juno ita respondisse fertur consolandi gratia: Pulcritudo formae tuae omnes aereas volucres antecellit, colore et nitore smaragdi profusa. Nulla enim avis similis tui; picta enim es plumis similibus fulgentibus gemmis; color tuus omnibus fulgoribus terrestribus praecellit. Et Pavo ad Junonem sic ait: Quid mihi color proficit, quia superor voce Lusciniae?

It will be noticed that the introduction differs materially from the injunction in Ph., and that it lacks any mention of other creatures or their powers or graces, Very few of the Ph. motifs have been retained, and these few have been altered: *despectus sim* takes the place of *derideri, doleo* that of *miserit, luscinia pulcrius et honorabilius canit me* that of *cantus luscinii,* etc.; the simple Ph. *forma vincis* is elaborated in Ni. to *pulcritudo formae tuae omnes aereas volucres antecellit, smaragdi* is repeated, *fulgentibus* strengthens the *beauty of the gems, color tuus omnibus fulgoribus terrestribus precellit* is a sweeping assertion not found in Ph. nor in the four versions just discussed. The tale is simple and primitive in character, and belongs to a period prior to W., and nearer to Ph. than to the other versions already discussed.

Ni. has nine of the motifs in the group previously discussed, but the omission of the remainder separates it from this group. Its similarity to Ph. draws it further from Vg., F., Vn., W., and places it prior to the common source of these four versions. The paucity of its statements might indicate that its source was an earlier form than Ph., but, in view of the lack of documentary evidence, this cannot be definitely asserted.

Hervieux discusses [10] the version known as Aes. ad Rufum and the relationship of this version with Ni. and Prim., which

[10] I, pp. 325, 710, 714. See also Thiele, *op. cit.*

is shown not only by the subjects treated, but also by the order of arrangement. He argues that Ni. is a paraphrase of Prim.[11] But an examination of the fable of the Peacock and Juno does not bear out the view of Hervieux. Warnke[12] concludes that Ni. contains a selection from a version which is parallel to Vg., but not identical with it. As W. has an addition of twenty-one motifs, and Ni. of seven only, the inference is that W. has gone several steps further than Ni.

Trevirensis, c. 1175 (T). This version[13] does not belong to the Ni. group, for: (1) It agrees with Ni. only in two motifs: *is derided by all* (which is also in Vg., and occurs only in Me. in the Ni. group), and *sad* (which, while running through the Ni. group, occurs also in four versions of the Vg. group, though not in Vg. itself); (2) There are eight other motifs not in the Ni. group, which occur in several versions of the Vg. group: *nature; feathers shine; cock tells the hours; crane makes known the time; swallow announces light,* or *salutes the morn; dove mourns; bat flies.* Yet one motif, *what are these feathers to me,* also in Me., is not in any other version, but in all probability this is a casual variation. T. agrees with Wk., which is treated later, and Vg., in *cock tells the hours of the night; swallow salutes the morn; bat flies;* and with S., Vg. in *scorned because of mean voice; because you shine,* or *feathers shine; crane makes known time; dove mourns; bat flies in the evening.* Thus T. must be out of Vg. Later it will be shown, under Par. and Ch., that Ch., G., S., Wk., Nk., T. agree in *cock tells the hours,* and that Ch., S., Wk., Nk., T. agree in the question

[11] Müller (*De Phaedri et Aviani fabulis libellus,* Lipsiae, 1875, p. 16) is of a different opinion.

[12] *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France. Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie;* Festgabe für Hermann Suchier, Halle, 1900; p. 162.

[13] "De Pavone." Hervieux, II, p. 619.

what is worth (*quid valet, proficit, prosunt, produit*). This, then, additionally establishes the indebtedness of T. to Vg. Warnke [14] discusses the relationship of LBG (another name for T.) and Alfred of England, and gives the opinions of G. Paris, Hervieux, and Mall, all of whom consider the fables collectively. Their conclusions do not entirely agree with those reached here in so far as the study concerns the fable of the Peacock and Juno.

T. is the first in date to use *nature* or *creator.* Ph., W., Vg., F., Vn. have *fatorum arbitrio;* Vg., F., Vn., add *a diis. Nature* is repeated in Nk., Ch., and Par. Wk. has *God.* The occurrence of *nature* in Nk. and T. may be explained by supposing that Nk. saw T. and took this idea from it. Ch. also testifies to the influence of Nk. by the fact that it is followed by an elegiac distich in Latin taken from Nk. An examination of the versions suggests another solution. In T. *the peacock approaches his creator; creator answers: 'do not demand more than the creator has granted you';* one is admonished to be *satisfied with what nature has given; nature sends none away empty.* In Nk. *nature gives strength; nature gives each one what she pleases.* This association of *creator* with his visible representative, *nature,* perhaps arose independently. The writer may have wished to vary his locutions, and to avoid the repetition of the word *creator,* which appears in the lines noted.

Neckam, c. 1215 (Nk.). This version offers slight evidence upon which to base a judgment, but there is enough to show that it is out of Vg., and so to accord with Hervieux's [15] statement that of the forty-two fables of Neckam, thirty-seven have Vg. as a basis. Nk. has twenty-one motifs, of which six are its own: *vincor modulis; praemodicae volu-*

[14] *Die Fabeln der Marie de France.* Halle, 1898; p. L.

[15] "De Philomena et Pavone." Hervieux, I, 676, II, 414; E. du Méril, *Poésies inédites du Moyen Age.* Paris, 1854; pp. 209-210.

cris; modulos modicae dulces dedit haec philomenae (this appears elsewhere only in Ph. as *luscinio melos*); *luciferum progne voce notare docet; natura dedit; nulli vult vitae commoda cuncta dare; tibi variumque colorem.* Nk. agrees with Vg., F., Vn., Ni. in six motifs: *form; color; like a gem* (an *emerald* in W., Vg., F., Vn.); *raven prophesies; cock tells hours; I am conquered in voice;* with Vg., F., Vn. in one: *colorem;* with Vg., F. in one: *quid prosunt.* This leads to the group Vg., F., Vn. as the source, but, as Vn., F. are too late, and as Ni. has shown no influence, Vg. is the only possible source for Nk. We thus have Nk. and S., as will be demonstrated later, out of a common parent, Vg. It is not possible to treat Nk. and S. together, nor is it possible to confirm our decision by a comparison of Nk. and S., for they have few motifs in common. Out of the thirty-one in S. and the twenty-one in Nk., only five are common; nor does a study of their derivatives establish a relationship. Consequently, each must stand on its individual proof. The indebtedness of Nk. to Vg. is further shown in the discussion of Par. and Ch., which proves that Ch., G., Nk., S., Wk., T. are from a common stock, which, in the case of Ch., G., Nk., must also have been Vg. See the discussion of the motifs *sad* and *angry.*

Te Winkel, c. 1275 (Wk.).[16] Under Ch. and Par. we shall see that the motifs *cock tells the hours of the night* and *announces the morning* give a common source for Ch., S., G., Nk., Wk., T., namely, Vg. All the motifs, except one, *ic sterve van rowen,* occur in Vg., and all except one, *nightingale has better voice,* or *song,* are in S. (in Vg., it is *vincor sono*). This would indicate that Wk. is out of Vg., with the addition of the motif *ic sterve van rowen.* Also, the agreement of

[16] *Esopet,* . . . uitgegeven . . . door J. Te Winkel, no. 29 of *Bibl. van middelnederlandsche Letterkunde,* Groningen, 1868; pp. 65-66, Fable LVIII.

Wk., S. in three motifs: *gods; form; eagle has greater strength,* indicates a common source, and, as it is seen in the discussion of S. that S. is out of Vg., one statement supports the other. Again, a comparison of Nk. and Wk. shows that they agree in two motifs: *form; eagle has strength.* Therefore, we have Nk., S., Wk. out of a common original, Vg. Further, under T., it is seen that T., Wk., Vg. are common, and that T., S., Vg. are also common.

Ysopet II de Paris, c. 1350 (Par)[17] and **Ysopet de Chartres,** c. 1250 (Ch.).[18] At this point our task becomes difficult and at times hopeless, for the evidence grows slender, and there is a lack of agreement where we should expect harmony. Recourse must consequently be had to the results of the general investigations of the collections. Par., Ch. contain a similar number of motifs, not all, however, agreeing. Par. adds to the general stock *peacock hears nightingale sing* (this has been hinted at in other versions); *cock announces the morning* (in other versions the same idea is expressed as it *tells the time* or *is prophet of the hours*); *nature gave virtues and graces;* the rich and poor are contrasted, and their position on earth and in heaven is discussed; *each should be content with what Jesus Christ gives.* New motifs in Ch. are: *nightingale has crown; nature gave delight in song.* An examination of the entire list discloses the following status: (*a*) Ch., Par. agree with Nk. in *nature gives; cock tells the hours;* Par., Nk. introduce *beauty* and *form;* Ch., Nk. agree in *raven prophesies; cock tells*

[17] The title is "Comment le Paon se courrouce de ce qu'il ne chante comme faist le Rossignol." Robert, *Fables inédites des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles, et Fables de La Fontaine.* Paris, 1825; I, 150-152: fable 39.

[18] The title is "Dou Poon et dou Rousignol parce chacun doit suffire." Duplessis, *Fables en vers du XIIIe siècle.* Chartres, 1834, pp. 58-59.

hours (*announces, prophet*); *not all gifts to one;* (*b*) *raven prophesies* is in Ch., G., Nk., Vn., Vg., F.; *cock tells the hours* is in Ch., G., Nk., Vn., Vg., F., S., Wk., T.; *what profit* is in Ch., Nk., Vg., F., S., Wk., T.; (*c*) *raven prophesies* shows a common source for Ch., G., Nk.; *what profit* shows a common source for Ch., S., Nk., Wk., T.; *cock tells hours* makes Ch., G., S., Nk., Wk., T. common. These motifs are found in Vg. and F., and, as F. is too late for Nk., this is further proof for the position of T. and Nk.; (*d*) Par. is common with Ch., Nk. in two instances: *nature; cock is prophet of the hours;* and, as one motif, *nature,* is not found in Vg., it must have come in through the influence of Nk.; (*e*) Ch. accords with Nk. in four traits: *nature; raven prophesies; cock tells hours of the night; nature gave not all to one;* two of which are not in Vg., F.: *nature; nature gave not all to one.* Nk. has a concluding elegiac distich: *Torqueri nos ista bonis prohibent alienis, Et bona sufficiant ut sua cuique monent,* which is repeated in Ch.

Steinhöwel, c. 1475 (S). This version[19] is connected with the group W., Vg., F., Vn. There are two versions of S., one in Latin and the other in German (G.). S. agrees with W., Vg., F., Vn. in fifteen motifs; with Vg., F., Vn. in but six: *color; cauda gemme; visus superat vocem; forma superat lusciniam; grus ostendit tempus; nudus volat sero vespertilio.* S., Vg., F. are the same in that the givers are the *gods;* then *fabula narrat,* or *probat; luscinia cantus vocis;* S., W., Vg., F. have a similar introduction; S., Vg. have *pictisque plumis;* S., Vg., Vn. agree in the ending. The S. version does not agree alone with any motif in W., consequently the motifs in the group W., Vg., F., Vn. fall in with the group Vg., F., Vn. As we have separated Vg.

[19] H. Oesterley, *Steinhöwels Aesop.* Tübingen, *Bibl. des Litt. Vereins zu Stuttgart,* CXVII, 1873; pp. 175-176. The title of the German version is "Die IV fabel von dem pfawen, der götin und nachtgallen."

and F., and, as there is no evidence in the motifs here considered to disprove the correctness of this procedure, it leaves S. in agreement with Vg., F. in a large number of instances. But S. agrees with Vg. in one additional motif: *Nullus similis tibi;* hence it is out of Vg. S. adds no motifs to Vg., but it changes one: the *crane* is made to brood in the olive tree instead of the *thrush,* as in other versions. Jacobs says [20] that Heinrich Steinhöwel brought together in his Aesop the four books of the Romulus, prose versions of Phaedrus, and selections from other collections, and seventeen from a collection, the source of which has never been determined, the Fabulae Extravagantes, contained in the Breslau manuscript of Petrus Alphonsus. It would seem that our fable belongs to the class just mentioned, and which is shown to be Vg. Steinhöwel's German version is considered incidentally under Par. and Ch. It is essentially the same as the Latin version.

Fabulae Metricae, c. 1125 (Me) and **F. Rhythmicae,** c. 1250 (Rh). These two versions [21] offer no difficulty, as their agreements with Ni. are apparent. The only question is in regard to the motif *sad,* which they have in common with T., and which has been explained in the treatment of T.

Marie de France, c. 1175 (Mar). The fable in Marie gives us only a slight clue by which we may hope to determine the store from which she drew. The motifs belonging to Mar. are to be found scattered among the earlier versions. Ni. contains the largest number, and these in Mar. agree more nearly in wording with Ni. than they do with those in other versions. Marie's fable is as follows: [22]

[20] *The Fables of Aesop as first printed by William Caxton . . . London,* 1889; I, p. 185.

[21] Hervieux, II, pp. 702-703; II, p. 745.

[22] Warnke, *Fabeln,* pp. 108-109.

Uns poüns fu forment iriez
vers sei meïsme e curuciez
de ceo que tel voiz nen aveit
cum a lui, ceo dist, avendreit.
A la deuesse le mustra,
e la dame li demanda
s'il n'ot asez en la bealté
dunt el l'aveit si aürné;
de pennes l'aveit fet plus bel
que ne veeit nul altre oisel.
Li poüns dist qu'il se cremeit,
de tuz oisels plus vils esteit
pur ceo que ne sot bien chanter.
Ele respunt: "Lai mei ester!
Bien te deit ta bealtez suffire."
"Nenil," fet il, "bien le puis dire:
quant li russignolez petiz
a meillur voiz, jeo sui huniz."

Marie adds to other motifs *deuesse, dame, goddess* as giver; question *whether beauty is not sufficient; fear; uglier than other birds; let me be.* Exclusive of these features, Mar., in the briefness and directness of her narration, stands nearer to Ni. than to any other version or group of versions. The expressions *I cannot sing; had not such a voice,* and the traits given above are not present in Ni., nor are they in the Vg. group. In Ni. *form is superior to nightingale* takes the place of *beauty of feathers,* and *doleo* that of *cremeit.* On the other hand *I cannot sing* appears in the representatives of the Vg. group, and is absent from Ni., but *nightingale has better voice* appears only in T. of the Vg. group. This would indicate either that the English version which Marie translated, that of Alfred of England,[23] was slightly influenced by some version of the Vg. group, or that Marie herself saw or heard a version of the fable which

[23] Marie states in her epilogue that she translated the fables from the English. For a discussion of this and of Mall's assertion that the source of the first forty fables (the present one included) is Ni., see Warnke, *Festgabe für Suchier,* Halle, 1900; p. 162; and *ZRPh.*, IX, pp. 161, 165, 188 ff.

belonged to the Vg. group, and thus introduced these elements. Ph. and Vg. are the only versions which contain all of these additional motifs. T. has two: *timeo* and *desiste,* both of which express ideas contained in Mar. and not found in any other redactions of the Vg. or Ni. groups. T. is of the same period as Mar., and, unless these are accidental similarities, it is possible that this may be taken as evidence that the T. ideas were conveyed to Marie, and that they probably were not in Alfred. It is thus certain, that the fable of Mar. should be placed under Ni., with the influence of a side version. Besides the similarity of motifs in Mar. and Ni., the character of the narration in both versions is much alike, both being short, terse in statement, beginning and ending abruptly. It is to be noticed that the introduction in Ni. is lacking in Mar.

Riccardiano, c. 1325 (Ri)[24]; **Isopo Laurenziano** I, c. 1375 (L);[25] **Palatino I,** c. 1425 (Pal.).[26] These three versions agree among themselves in nearly all their motifs. Ri. has *more song to the nightingale,* which is not in the others. The remaining motifs are scattered among the other versions; the only one occurring extensively is the motif *sad.* The three Italian fables have a common source, but the paucity of evidence as to their agreement with previous versions allows us slight opportunity to reach a definite decision regarding their position in our scheme. Warnke discusses[27] these collections and their relations to Mar. and T., and concludes that they are direct literal translations of Mar.[28] This state-

[24] L. Rigoli, *Volgarizzamento delle Favole di Esopo. Testo Riccardiano,* Firenze, 1818, pp. 85-86; fable 40.

[25] "Del Paone che ssi ramarica alla Natura della Bocie e de Piedi rustichi, domandando volere essere anzi uno Lusigniuolo. M. P. Brush, *Isopo Laurenziano.* Columbus, 1899; pp. 167-168; cap. XLI.

[26] "Il Pagone si mirava le penne e poi i piedi." *Favole di Esopo in Vulgare.* Lucca, 1864; pp. 91-92; XXXXI.

[27] *Fabeln,* p. LXXV ff.

[28] Brush, *Isopo Laurenziano.* Columbus, 1899; pp. 43 ff., takes the L. collection from a particular manuscript of Mar.

ment does not apply to the fable which we are considering. The versions may have been, and probably were, inspired by Marie's tale, but a synopsis of Ri., the oldest of the three, will refute Warnke's statement as concerns our fable.

The title of Ri. is "Del paone che si guatava le penne." A peacock is admiring his feathers, is delighted at his beauty, hears a nightingale sing, is grieved because he thought himself the handsomest bird in the world, but now his beauty is nothing because he cannot sing. He goes to Nature in an angry mood, complains that more has been given to the nightingale than to himself. Nature replies that she had given him the most beautiful feathers in the world. The peacock responds: "What good is that to me if I cannot sing, and if my feet disturb me so, that every time I look, I am ashamed?" [29] Nature orders him away with the remark that his beauty is sufficient, and that she does not wish him to be other than he is. Then follows the moral, that every one is discontented with what he has, and can not bear to see another have more.

Bozon, c. 1325 (Bo);[30] **Harleianus,** c. 1375 (H) [31]; and the motifs *sad* and *angry*. Two motifs which are important in the genealogy of these versions are *sad* and *angry*. *Sad* is represented by the expressions *triste* in Me., *doleo* in Ni., *doleas* in Ph., *mœstas* in Nk., T., *duel demenoit* in Par., *lamantanente* in L., *sorrowful and heavy* in Cax. *Angry* is represented by *indigno ferens* in Ph., S., *indignans* in Me., Vg., Ni., F., *iratus* in Me., Vg., F., W., Vn., S., *turbatus*

[29] The remark about the ugly feet occurs only in the three Italian versions. It is borrowed from the bestiaries; see Goldstaub und Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-Venezianischer Bestiarius*. Halle, 1892, p. 342.

[30] "Contra proximos contempnentes." L. T. Smith — P. Meyer, *Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*. Paris, *SATF.*, 1889, p. 24, § 18; See P. W. Harry, *A Comparative Study of the Aesopic Fable in Nicole Bozon*. Cincinnati, 1905; pp. 23-25.

[31] "Pavo et Predestinacio." *Nicolai Bozon Exempla Quædam*. Hervieux, IV, p. 258.

in Rh., *graviter ferens* in Vn., *gravabatur* in H., *iriez* in Marie. Ch., B., G., Wk. have *complaint,* and Wk. has *ic sterve van rowen.* These stand nearer to *sad* than to *angry.* It will be noticed that some of the versions have more than one of the expressions. The following scheme shows the occurrence of the motifs in the Prim. and Ni. groups:

Sad—Prim. group: T., Par., Nk., G., St., Ch., Bo., Cax.; Ni. group: Me., Ni., Rh., L.

Angry—Prim. group: Ph., S., Vg., F., W., Vn., H., Wk.; Ni. group: Me., Ni., Rh., Mar., Ri., Pal.

Sad, which was not in Ph. (nor W.), started later, probably in Ruf., thence going into Ni. and Me.; also going into Prim., from which version it went into X. and derivatives. As *sad* is not in our Vg., which is here called Vg. I, and it is in Bo., Nk., Par., T., Ch., Cax., a new common source may be posited and called Vg. II. This means that from version X, out of Prim., were copied two versions, Vg. I, which we possess, and Vg. II, of which we have no mention, possibly lost. This Vg. II must have contained all the motifs common to Vg. I and those versions which we have proved to be out of Vg. I, and, in addition, it must have contained motif *sad,* which is common to Bo., Nk., T., Par., and Cax. T. cannot be an immediate source for Bo., Nk., Wk., S., as T. has not *gods; to whom it is given; let it be used; form; color; beauty; like a gem; like an emerald,* which are common to several of the versions; nor are Nk., Wk. singly out of T., as T. has not the Nk. motifs: *beauty,* which is in S., Wk.; *color,* which is in S.; *like a gem* (*like an emerald* in S., Cax.); nor the Wk. motifs: *nightingale sings;* (also in Cax., S.); *beauty,* which is in G., S; (in Nk., S. it is *form*). Bo. may be out of T., because they have in common *sad; peacock cannot sing; more song to nightingale,* which are not in Vg., Vn., F., W., nor in Ni. Thus Bozon may be out of a version or a rehandling of T., and H. is parallel to Bo., except that it omits *neck shines* and has *painted feathers,* and

adds *beauty of feathers.* Hence, Bo., and, after it, H., are out of T.[32]

Machault, c. 1484, and Caxton, 1484 (Cax). The Machault collection [33] is not, for the moment, accessible to the writer, and so it is necessary to accept Jacobs' statement,[34] that Caxton translated his version [35] from Jules Machault, who translated it from Steinhöwel. The agreement of Caxton and Steinhöwel indicates that the French original of Caxton mentioned in the title of Caxton's work is also directly connected with S.; hence, the absence of the French link is of no great moment.[36] Caxton, however, omits several motifs which are found in S.: *prophecy by the nightingale; gemmed tail; blackbird, swallow, bat, cock.* These may be absent also from the French redaction.[37]

The comparison of motifs given above and the summary which follows serve to show the relationship and interdependence of the collections cited. It will be seen that they can be divided into groups, and subdivided into still smaller groups. Yet hundreds of years after the primitive division, we find a version in one group showing direct influence on one belonging to an entirely different group. It is such cross-

[32] Harry, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff., proposes the possible influence of Mar., or of some oral tradition resembling that version.

[33] *Les subtilles fables de esope avec celles de auian de alfonce et de poge florentin . . . lequel a este translate de latin en frācois par . . . frere iulien des augustins de lyon.* Lyon, Mathis Hucz, 1484. Hervieux, IV, pp. 403-406, attributes the first edition to a date anterior to 1480.

[34] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 4.

[35] "The fourth fable is of Juno the goddesse and of the pecock and of the nyghtyngale." *The Fables of Aesop as first printed by William Caxton in* 1484 . . . *now again edited and induced by Joseph Jacobs.* London, 1889; II, p. 105; Liber quartus, Fable 4.

[36] The writer intends to republish the Machault collection in the near future.

[37] This ends the list of collections which, so far as the writer has been able to determine, contain the fable in question, nor are parallels to it found in the many other collections he has examined. No effort has been made to include stray occurrences of the fable.

relations as these that make it imperative for the student of medieval fable collections to examine the relations and motifs of the individual fables.

In conclusion, the relations of the variant versions of this fable may be summarized historically as follows: Phaedrus (c. 25) is followed by Romulus Primitivus (c. 900), through *Aesopus ad Rufum (c. 850, lost). Weissenburgensis (c. 925) branches from Primitivus, and is continued by the copy of 1050. After Weissenburgensis, and out of Primitivus, we have a group containing *Vindobonensis (c. 1050, lost) and a later copy, Vienna Codex 303 (c. 1350) as one branch; and a group having Vulgaris (c. 950) and a posited *Vulgaris II, which is the predecessor of Trevirensis, Neckam, Florentinus, Te Winkel, and Steinhöwel. Trevirensis (c. 1175) gave Bozon (c. 1325) and Harleianus (c. 1375). Neckam (c. 1215), influenced by Trevirensis, give rise to Ysopet de Chartres (c. 1250) and Ysopet II de Paris (c. 1350). Steinhöwel (Latin and German, both c. 1475) is the parent of a large number of European versions, two of which, Machault (c. 1484) and Caxton (1484), are in the period which is treated here. From a version occurring between Rufus and Primitivus, another group was formed, having Nilant (c. 1050) as its earliest representative, which, in turn, furnished the material for a line of versions consisting of an *Anglo-Norman version (c. 1100, lost), *Alfred of England (c. 1150, lost), and Marie de France (c. 1175). Marie, who shows in this fable the influence of Trevirensis, was the inspiration for the Italian version, *Isopo Italiano (c. 1300, lost), and the latter was the precursor of Riccardiano (c. 1325) on the one hand, and, on the other, of *Isopo Laurenziano (c. 1350, lost), which served as the model for Laurenziano I (c. 1375) and Palatino I (c. 1425). Florentinus (c. 1250) and Te Winkel (c. 1275) have no successors in the period included in this study, as far as is known to the writer. Fabulae Metricae (c. 1125) and Fabulae Rythmicae (c. 1250) appear to have been derived from a version preceding Nilant, and they have left no successors.

THE YSOPET OF JEHAN DE VIGNAY

EDITED BY

GUY E. SNAVELY

The collection of Æsopic fables here published for the first time is found in the *Mireoir Historial* of Jehan de Vignay, who flourished in the early part of the fourteenth century and who was a very popular literary man at the court of the first Valois kings. He translated into French some twelve historical and religious works, of which the most famous are the *Légende Dorée* of Jacques de Varazze, the *Livre des Eschez* of Jacques de Cessoles, and the *Mireoir Historial* of Vincent de Beauvais.

The last-mentioned work is a long treatise in four folio manuscript volumes giving a general survey of the history of the world. Vincent de Beauvais in treating of early Greek history interpolates this collection of fables after a brief reference to Æsop.

There are known to be extant some forty-one manuscripts containing portions of this work, and the collection of fables is found in nine of them.[1] The text here given is taken from MS. fr. 316 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which is by far the oldest and best manuscript. In fact it is probably the copy made in 1333 for Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne herself. In the footnotes, however, there are given all the variants showing differences of meaning found in

[1] For a more detailed account of Jehan de Vignay and his works see Guy E. Snavely, *The Æsopic Fables in the Mireoir Historial of Jehan de Vignay.* Baltimore, 1908 (Johns Hopkins Dissertation).

the other eight manuscripts. The abbreviations employed refer to the following manuscripts:

A = MS. 434, Bibl. Municipale, Besançon. (1372)
B = MS. Vossianus gallicus, folio 3 A, Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Leiden (ca. 1345)
C = MS. Royal 14 E. i, British Museum, London (ca. 1500)
D = MS. fr. 50, Bibl. Nationale, Paris (ca. 1460)
E = MS. fr. 308, Bibl. Nationale, Paris (1455)
F = MS. fr. 312, Bibl. Nationale, Paris (1396)
H = MS. fr. 6354, Bibl. Nationale, Paris (ca. 1450)
I = MS. Reg. 538, Bibl. Vaticana, Roma (ca. 1455)

MIREOIR HISTORIAL.

(LIV. IV, ch. 2-8).

De Esope et de ses fables faintes moralement contre les malicieus envieux : II

[Prologue]

En l'an du regne Cyre premier, Esope est occis de Delphins. *L'aucteur.* Les fables de Esope sont nobles et renommees les queles Romulus un Grec estrait de grec en latin et les envoia a son filz Tyberim, escrivant ainsi: " De la cité de Atice, Esope, un homme grec et engigneus, enseigne ses sergens quel chose les hommes doivent garder. Et a fin que il devise et demonstre la vie des hommes et les meurs, il amaine a ce arbres, oysiaus et bestes, parlans a prouver chascune fable. Et ceste chose ie, Romulus, tresportai de grec en latin. Et certes, filz Tyberin, se tu les lises et les aperçoives a plain courage tu trouveras jeux dedenz mis qui te feront rire et te

aviveront ton enging." Veez ci l'essample contre les malicieus.

(Heading) DH des *for* de ses; DF sainctes *for* faintes; CDEI *omit* contre les malicieus envieux; H malicieus et; A *adds* estraites de grec en latin; C le IIe chapitre; F *omits* II. — (Prologue) 1. H ou premier an *for* en . . . premier; BCEH fut *for* est; BF des; C *omits* de. — 2. C *omits* nobles et. — 3. DH escripst *for* estrait. — 5. CDEHI *omit* de Atice; I un homme Esope; A *omits* grec; DH greigneur *for* engigneus. — 6. D ensigne de; H a l'instruction de *for* enseigne; B les *for* ses; H serviteurs *for* sergens; DI quelles choses. — 7. CDEHI des *for* les. — 8. C. *omits* et bestes parlans. — 9. B flabe *for* fable; I *omits* ceste chose. — 10. F le translatay, H ay translaté *for* tresportai; H mon filz. — 11. CE et tu; I *omits second* les; H de *for* a. — 12. H mis dedens; H *omits* te. — 13. ACDEI esmouveront, H aguiseront; A *omits* veez . . . . essample; I et veez; BCE ve; DEH *omit* ci; H *omits* l'; F encontre.

[I. Wolf and Lamb]

Il faint que l'aignel et le loup, qui avoient soif, vindrent a un ruissel de diverses parties, l'un de amont, l'autre de aval. Le lou bevoit en haut et l'aingnel bien loing au bas. Et quant le lou vit l'aignel il dist ainsi: "Tu as troublé l'yaue a moy bevant." Et l'aignel souffrant dist: "Comment t'ay je l'yaue troublee qui acourt de toy a moy?" Et le loup dist: "Tu me dis mal." Et dist l'aignel: "Je ne te di nul mal." Et dist le lou: "Ton pere vraiement me dist et monstra mout de maux." Et la fin de leur estrif le lou dist a voiz despiteuse: "Et encore parles tu a moy, larron?" Et tantost il s'embati contre li et tua l'aignel innocent.

1. A *adds* example de l'aignel et du lou; I *omits* qui avoient soif. — 2. I vindrent boire. — 3. B et l'autre; DH et le lou; I d'en; CH amont *for* en haut; B le lou *for* l'aingnel; F *repeats* bevoit *after* l'aingnel. — 4. CDEHI en *for* au; H lui escria *for* dist ainsi. — 5. H pourquoi me troubles tu mon eaue *for* tu . . . bevant. — 6. I ce souffrant; H pacient *for* souffrant, H lui respondi

for dist; I et comment; CEI *omit* t'; H la troubleroie *for* t'ay . . . troublee. — 7. H je puis quelle iront *for* qui acourt; B court. — 8. H injure *for* mal; H lui dist; H chose qui te doye desplaire *for second* mal; HI lors *for second* et; H lui dist. — 9. CEI et me; H fist en sa vie *for* dist et monstra. — 10. I mais *for* et; CDEHI en la. — 11. H comment oses parler *for* et encore parles; H que tu es larron. — 12. C *omits* il; F se combati a *for* s'embati contre; D il se embati contre l'aignel et le tua; H il se print au corps de l'aignel le saisi tua et menga *for* il . . . innocent.

[II. Mouse, Frog and Kite]

Contre ceulz, certes, qui appareillent aguez au profit et au salu des autres destruire, il faint que la souriz, qui vouloit passer un fleuve, requist l'aide de la raine et la raine prist un gros fil et lia a la souriz et a son pié et commença a noer. Et el milieu du fleuve la raine se plunga. Et si comme l'autre se tenist forciblement sus l'yaue, une escoufle voloit sus l'yaue et prist la souriz a ses ongles et emporta la raine pendante ensemble.

1. A *adds* exemple de la rayne et de la souriz; A *omits* aguez; H a leur *for* au. — 2. H *omits* au; H pour les *for* des; E fault *for* faint. — 3. F d'une *for* de la; H renoulle *for* raine. — 4. I mais *for* et; C *omits* et la raine; BCDEHI le lia; H *omits* a la; H *omits* souriz et *and adds after* pié: par ung bout et a l'autre a la gusue de la souris. — 5. I *omits* et commença a noer; F puis commença; ACDEF ou *for* el; I *omits* et . . . plunga. — 6. I mais *for* et; H ainsi *for* si; FH la souris *for* l'autre; H tenoit *for* tenist; D fortement, H le plus for quelle pouoit *for* forciblement; E un. — 7. H *omits second* sus l'yaue; HI qui *for* et. — 8. F emporta la souris et; H qui pendoit a elle *for* pendante ensemble. — 9. A *adds* et ainsi fu prise et devoree qui cuidoit la souriz noier.

[III. Dog and Shadow]

Avec ce il faint contre les convoiteus que un chien passant un fleuve tenoit une piece de char en sa bouche,

et si comme il en vit l'ombre en l'yaue il cuida que ce fust une autre piece et ouvri la bouche pour la prendre, et tantost le fleuve emporta cele que il tenoit, et ne pot avoir cele que il cuidoit estre souz l'yaue. Et ainssi aucuns qui veult avoir l'autrui pert aucune foiz le sien.

1. A *adds* exemple du chien contre les convoiteus; A *omits* ce *and* contre les convoiteus. — 2. H qui passoit *for* passant; FH gueule *for* bouche. — 4. I piece de char: H si *for* et; H gueule *for* bouche. — 5. H *omits* le fleuve emporta; H tenoit ala au fons; H et si. — 6. H dont *for* que; H la figure estoit *for* il cuidoit estre; FH en *for* souz; H semblablement *for* ainssi. — 7. CEI *omit* aucuns; DH veulent; I cuide *for* vuelt; CEI il pert, DH perdent; DH le leur, F le leur avec la vie *for* le sien.

[IV. Lion's Share]

Derechief il faint contre ceulz qui folement se acompaignent as puissans hommes que la vache et la chievre et la brebis furent acompaigniees ensemble avec le lyon, et si comme il eussent vené es bois et il eussent pris un cerf, les parties faites, le lyon dist ainsi: "Je pren le premier quar ie sui lyon. La seconde partie est moie quar ie sui plus fort de vous. Et la tierce ie vous defent car g'i ay plus couru que vous. La quarte qui y atouchera il m'ara anemi." Et ainsi par sa grant mauvaistié il ot toute la proie.

1. ACDEHI *omit* il faint; B compaignent. — 2. F *omits* hommes; CEI il faint que; H *omits* que; CH *omit* et. — 3. H s'estoient *for* furent; H furent ung jour; H *omits* ensemble. — 4. CE *omit* si; H couroient ensemble parmi ung bois ilz chasserent ung cerf et le prindrent *for* eussent vené . . . un cerf; BCEI au *for* es; CEI *omit second* il. — 5. H *inserts after* cerf: et fut le cerf mis en quatre parties afin que chacun eust la sienne et; I cerf et; CEI *omit second* le. — 7. que *for* de; C *omits* et. — 8. DH *omit* i; I le plus; I *omits* que vous; C et la, F a la; F quarte partie; CEI la *for* y; CDEHI touchera. — 9. *omit* il; CDEHI a anemi, F pour anemi; CEI *omit* grant.

[V. Wolf and Crane]

Et donc faint il contre ceulz qui aident as mauvés folement, et dit ceste fable. Si comme le lou devouroit les os, un en traversa griefment entre ses dens. Le lou promist grant pris a qui cel mal osteroit, et prioit la grue au col lonc que elle li donnast medecine. Tant fist que ele mist son col en sa bouche et li osta le mal de la bouche et de la gorge. Le lou gueri, la grue demanda sa promesse, et le lou li dist: "O! comme ç'a esté grant injure as vertus de moy que celle grue retrait sa teste saine de ma gorge, et je estoie travaillié les dens, et el ne m'en scet gré et demande son loier."

1. H encores *for* et donc. — 2. H malement *for* folement; CE un *for* le; C lou si. — 3. H une beste l'un les; H des *for* les; H *omits* un en *and inserts* se rompit en sa gueule et; BH *omit* griefment; H par entre; H dens si qu'il ne le pouoit avoir; I mais le. — 4. Dons *for* pris; FH celui qui; CH pria. — 5. F au grant; ABCEH lonc col, F col et; C donnast la; F alegance *for* medecine. — 6. EI lui mist; FH gueule *for* bouche; CEF l'os, H cel os, I ce mal *for* le mal; BCEFI *omit* de la bouche et; I le mal c'est a dire l'os. — 7. H guele *for* bouche; CEI sa *for* la; CE gorge qui le grevoit; I gorge qui lui faisoit mal; F *omits* de la gorge *and adds* et fu gueri et. — 8. C. *omits* et; BI *omit* li; B dist a li; C et *for* o. — 9. H a *for* as vertus de; H ceste *for* celle; H a tiré *for* retrait. — 10. DH *omit* et; H avoie *for* estoie; F mes *for* les; H *omits* et. — 11. F encore *for* el; F scet elle; H et si; B *omits* son; F de *for* son.

De ces fables meïsmes contre les orgueilleus et presomptueus de vaine gloire: III

[VI. Fox and Raven]

De rechief contre ceulz qui s'esjoïssent de estre loëz de fausses paroles et puis s'en repentent il faint ceste fable. Si comme un corbel avoit pris un formage par aventure en une fenestre, il monta sus un haut arbre. Et quant

le gourpil le vit de terre, il dist ainsi: "O corbel qui est ce que soit semblable a toi! Comme tu es bien resplendissant de tes pennes! Quel biauté ce fust se tu eusses la voiz clere! Nul oysel ne fust premier de toy." Et ycelui qui li voult plaire et monstrer plus viguereusement sa voiz cria haut et le bec ouvert par oubliance geta hors le formage, le quel le gourpil traïtre ravi gloutement. Adonc le corbel esbahi gemi et fu deceü du tout en tout.

(Heading) CEHI ce *for* ces fables; F plains de; CEH *omit* de vaine gloire. — 1. A *inserts* Exemple du corbel et du regnart; BI de *for* contre; A meismes qui — 2. B flabe *for* fable. — 3. H *omits* si comme. — 4. H quelque *for* une; H a tout sus; H *omits* et quant. — 5. E un *for first* le; CH ung renard *for* le gourpil; H qui estoit a *for* de; H si *for* il; CH lui dist; H *omits* ainsi; I tu corbel; H quel oisel *for* qui. — 6. H ce en ce monde; DEHI qui *for* que; CEF est *for* soit; D semble; A *omits* a toi; CH *omit* comme; H as tes plumes moult *for* es bien. — 7. H *omits* de tes pennes; D plumes *for* pennes; CEI fust de toy. — 8. Ce plus beau, H acomparager *for* premier; H a *for* de; I mais *for* et. — 9. CDEHI *omit* y; H le corbel *for* celui; BE *omit* li. — 10. CE *omit* par; I oubli; H laissa cheoir *for* geta hors. — 11. H formage a terre; H et *for* le quel; I *omits* le *before* gourpil; CH renart *for* gourpil; H l'emporta et le devora *for* ravi. — 12. I adonc le gourpil saisi et; H demoura esbahi qui par la fraude du renard du *for* esbahi . . . fu; D de tout en.

[VII. Sick Lion]

Il faint une fable aussi en esmouvant les hommes qui sont en dignitez a estre debonnaires en ceste maniere. Come le lyon, greve de aage et ses forces defaillies, se geust et traioit au derrenier esprit, un cenglier vint a lui, courroucié, escumant et fronchant ses dens, et feri le lyon et vencha sa vielle haine. Le torel, son anemi, feri le lyon a ses cornes. Et, quant l'asne sauvage vit ce, il le defoula et li depieça le visage a ses piez. Et

ycelui, en gemissant, souspirant dist: "Quant je estoie en ma vertu, je estoie craint et honnoré, si que touz s'enfuioient de mon regart, et cele opinion espoëntoit pluseurs. Et ceulz a qui je sui bien veullant et qui je ne bleçai onques, ceulz me font mal. Et pour ce que je sui sanz forces, je n'ai nule des premiers honneurs.

1. A *adds* Exemple du lyon et du cenglier; B flabe *for* fable; C aussi une fable; CEI *omit* en; I qui esmuet *for* esmouvant. — 2. H estre doulx et. — 3. H viel et greve; CE de ses; B les *for* ses; H *omits* et ses forces; CEH *omit* defaillies; CE *omit* se. — 4 C *omits* geust et; H malade et; A *has* trioit *before* traioit; BE traist; H tiroit; B darrenier; CE derrain; H souspir *for* esprit. — 5. I lui moult lui; H et escumant fronchant; H les *for* ses; EF *omit* et; C si, H qui *for* et. — 6. D en vengant, H pour soy venger *for* et vencha; C la, H d'une *for* sa; H haine qu'il avoit contre lui; I mais le; H torel aussi. — 7. CEHF de *for* a; H cornes pour soy venger du temps passé. — 8. I foula; B son *for* le; H de *for* a. — 9 H lors le lyon *for* ycelui; CEI celui lyon; CDEHI et souspirant, F et en souspirant. — 11. DH devant *for* de; CEI ma voiz *for* cele opinion. — 12. H maiz *for first* et; BCEI fus, H ay esté *for* sui; BCDEHI que *for* qui. — 13. H ilz *for* ceulz; C *omits* que. — 14. CDEH force; ABFHI nulles, CDE nulz; I de mes *for* des.

[VIII. Ass and Lap-Dog]

De rechief il faint ceste fable contre ceulz qui non convenablement s'enbatent, non pas dignes as meilleurs servises et offices. Un asne si veoit chascun jour a un chienet joïr son seigneur, et estoit touz les jours saoulé de sa table, et que la mesniee donnoit au chiennet pluseurs choses. Et l'asne dist ainsi: "Se mon seigneur aime ainsi une tres orde beste, et li et sa mesniee, combien m'amera il miex, se je li fais le service. Je sui meilleur d'un chien. Je puis user de meilleur vie et avoir trop greigneur honneur." Et si comme l'asne pensoit ceu en soy meïsmes il vit son seigneur entrer ens, et li courut

encontre hastivement criant et sailli sus et mis ses deux piez devant sus les espaules de son seigneur, leschant son maistre a la langue et honissant ses vestements et lassa trop son seigneur de sa pesanteur. Et toute la mesnie est esmeüe par le cri du seigneur et prennent fuz et pierres et batent tant l'asne que il le firent tout foible et li rompirent les costez et ainsi le chaçent en le stable demi mort.

1. A *adds* Exemple de l'asne et du chienet; B *omits* fable. — 2. CEI embatent, DH esbatent; H *omits* non pas; I point; H indignes. — 3. A *omits* et offices; CEH *omit* si; CDEHI *omit* a. — 4. CEI enjoyr, H faire festes *for* joir; FH a son. — 5. CEI *omit* que; CEI mesniee qui lui, H mesniee pour faire plaisir au seigneur; CEI *omit* au chiennet. — 6. I mas *for* et; H seigneur et ses serviteurs; H aiment. — 7. D si; BFHI *omit first* et; HI *omit* li; H *omits* et sa mesniee *and inserts* de. — 8. H doit amer moy *for* m'amera; H qui *for* se je; F et li; H tant de *for* le; B service je sui meilleur d'un chien qui sui profitable a plusieurs choses. Je sui norri d'eaues de fonteinnes nette viande m'est donnee. — 9. ACDEI du, H que n'est le *for* d'un; F et *for* je; D je ne, H doys *for* puis; I vivre *for* user; HI *omit* trop. — 10. F honneur que lui; H ainsi *for* et si. — 11. H si *for* et. — 12. H a l'encontre; I encontre moult; C haultement; H criant et hullant; CE sus lui; F les deu; D *omits* deux. — 13. EH piez de; D l', I ses *for* les; CI *omit* de son seigneur; HI en leschant; C *omits* leschant. — 14. C de son; CDH *omit* a; B de *for* a; CDH *omit* la langue; BEI sa *for* la; D vestements en la langue, H vestements de sa langue. — 15. F travaillant *for* lassa trop; DH tant *for* trop; B *omits* trop; H maistre *for* seigneur; H pesanteur qu'il commenca a hucher les gens en son aide; C *omits* toute; H tous les serviteurs *for* et . . . mesnie. — 16. H acourent au cry *for* est . . . cri; CE fut *for* est; F se esmut *for* est esmeue; I son *for* du; CEH prindrent, D prennant, F pristrent, I prannent. — 17. CEF bastons *for* fuz; DHI *omit* et; H des pierres; D gectent sus et batent; H gecterent contre le povre asne et le batent; CEH batirent; H *omits* l'asne; CEHI *omit* le . . . foible et. — 18. BD rompent; EH les os et les; CEI *omit* ainsi; EI l'en *for* le; CEFHI chasserent, D chassent; H jusques en. — 19. H ou ilz le laisserent demi.

[IX. Lion and Mouse]

De rechief a amonnester que nul ne mefface as petis, il faint ceste fable que le lyon dormant les souriz estoient en gest et par aventure l'une trespassa par dessus li. Et le lyon, esveillié en haste, prist la chaitive souriz a sa main isnele. Et ele li prioit merci, car ce n'avoit ele pas fait de son gré. Le lyon, pensant que ce seroit de la vengance de la souriz se il l'occioit, ce ne li seroit point d'onneur, si la lessa aler et li pardonna. Un pou aprés, le lyon chaï en une fosse. Et quant il se senti pris il commença a ruire et a crier a grant doleur. Et quant la souriz le sot elle courut a li et, la chose veüe, elle li dist: "Ne te doute pas. Je te rendrai semblable grace. Je n'ay pas oublié le bien que tu me feïs." Et donc commence a regarder touz les ars de ce piege, et a rungier les liens et les cordes as dens, et a despecier les engins de cel art. Et ainsi rendi la souriz franc le lyon qui estoit pris.

1. A *adds* Exemple du lyon et de la souriz; H il amonneste *for* a amonnester; H tant soit grant ne; H efface ne mesdye. — 2. H et a ce propos il; BF *omit* ceste fable. — 3. I *omits* et. — 4. H qua la sentit *for* esveillié; DH *omit* en; DH *omit* haste; H *omits* chaitive; H souriz soudainement; CD en *for* a. — 5. H pate *for* main; H *omits* isnele; H crioit *for* prioit; H *omits* car ce n'avoit ele; CE que, I et que *for* car; C *omits* ele. — 6. H *omits* pas . . . gré *and adds* disant qu'elle ne pensoit pas a lui faire aucune desplaisir; I point; BF quel vengance *for* que; I seroit moult; BCEHI *omit* de. — 7. B *omits first* la; CEI petite, H grant honte a lui de prendre *for first* la; B *omits* vẽngance; H de si petite bastelete et que *for* de la souriz; CEI *omit* se il; CEI occire, H la tuoit *for* l'occioit; CEI *omit* ce ne li seroit; BF car ce; H qu'il n'y aroit gueres *for* ce ne li seroit point. — 8. I *omits* si; CE il *for* si; BF *omit* aler; H aler pour celle foiz; H ne demoura gueres que le lyon chay et fu prins *for* un pou apres le lyon chai. — 9. CEI dedens une roys en; H piege *for* fosse; CE sentit qu'il estoit *for* se senti. — 10. BF *omit first* a; CEHI braire *for* ruire;

BCEI *omit second* a *and* CEI *add* par. — 11. C l'ouyt *for* le sot; H vers *for* a; H quant elle le vit en cel estat *for* la chose veue; C *omits* la chose. — 12. CEI veue et sceue; D veue et; E *omits* li; A redoute *for* te doute; I point *for* pas; F rendrai sain et. — 13. I car je; B *omits* ay; I point *for* pas. — 14. H *omits* et; CDEHI commenca; H toutes, I tretous; H cordes et engins *for* ars. — 15. H et commenca; H *omits second* et. — 16. B *omits* a; C cest *for* cel; H mist *for* rendi; BF *omit* la souriz. — 17. H en franchise *for* franc; H prisonnier en danger de miserablement finir sa vie *for* pris; F *adds* au piege.

De ce meïsme contre les gloutons enflez, orgueilleus et de petit sens: IV

[X. Dog and Thief]

Encontre les gloutons qui a un disner perdent leur chose ordena il ceste fable. Comme un larron de nuit eüst donné a un chien du pain, le chien dist: "Il m'est donné pour grace. Tu me le donnes pour ce que tu me deçoives. Se tu me donnes maintenant pain tu ne le donras mie aprés quant je arai fain. Je ne veul pas tant seulement la vie presente, mes je pourvoi cele a venir. Je ne veul pas que tu cloes mes joes par ton pain, mes se tu ne t'en vas je abaierai contre toy et esveillerai mon seigneur et sa mesniee, et leur dirai: "C'est un larron."

(Heading) F ESOPE *for* de ce meisme; DI *omit* gloutons; CDEI *omit* enflez; CE *omit* orgueilleus; H arrogans *for* orgueilleus; CDEI *omit* et de petit sens. (Fable X) A *inserts* Exemple du chien et du larron; D *repeats* perdent; H le leur. — 2. H *omits* chose; B *omits* fable; H *omits* comme. — 3. H donna *for* eust donné; H une grant piece de *for* du; B *omits* le chien dist il; H lui dist; HI le pain *for* il; I il si — 4. B *omits* m'est donné pour grace; A de *for* pour; HI mais tu; C a fin, H pour fraude afin *for* pour ce. — 5. H du pain. — 6. BD ne me; CEHI le me; D donnera, CDEH pas, I point *for* mie; H tousjours *for* apres; F *omits* apres. — 7. CE mie, I point *for* pas; H a cele. — 8. I point *for* pas; DH pour, I de *for* par. — 10. F mesniee toute; CH dirai que.

[XI. Mountain and Mouse]

De rechief contre ceulz qui sont trop espoëntez par vaines nouvelles, il faint ainsi: Une montaigne si enfantoit et donnoit trop grans gemissemens; et toute la nacion, quant il oïrent ce, touz furent troublez si que il ne sorent que faire. Et en la fin cele montaigne enfanta une souriz, si que le mal que il cuidoient retourna a touz en noient a ceulz qui avoient eü paour.

1. CEI le *for* contre; H de *for* par. — 2. CE *omit* si. — 3. H tres douloreux *for* trop grans; H a *for second* et. — 4. BF elle *for* il; B oi, F ouy *for* oirent; H *omits* touz; CEHI ilz furent. — 6. F ceuls touz; CDEHI a *for* en. — 7. CDHI neant.

[XII. Hares and Frogs]

De rechief contre ceulz qui trop petiz ne pueent souffrir leur estat, il ordene ainsi. Comme une grant frainte venist as lievres soudement, il pristrent conseil que pour les paours continuees il se tuëroient et se leroient cheoir et trebuchier. Et si comme il vindrent a la rive d'un fleuve, il virent mout de raynes qui la estoient qui orent paour d'eulz et se geterent el flueve. Et quant les lievres virent ce, l'un d'eus dist: "Autres que nous sont paoureus; ensuions nostre vie et l'ensuions comme ces autres que qu'il aviengne, ne il ne sera pas touz temps mal." Et qui ne puet souffrir mal, si regarde les maus des autres.

1. H de *for* trop; CEH *omit* ne; H se desesperant *for* pueent souffrir; I souffrir ne endurer. — 2. C dit *for* ordene; H une telle *for* ainsi; H feinte *for* comme; H frainte de gens; H survint en ung tropel de *for* venist as. — 3. H si s'en fuirent et loings *for* il; H conseil entre eulx. — 4. H. continuelles qu'ilz avoient *for* continuees; CEI *omit* se . . . trebuchier *and insert* il s'en yroient de leur region en autre pays; F il pristrent ordenance que ilz. — 5. H *omits* si; H pour ce faire *for* comme il; H en ung

estang a; H duquel *for* d'un fleuve. — 6. CEI *omit* qui la estoient. — 7. si grant paour; H qu'ilz *for* et; A es, CDEHI ou *for* el; A fleuves; I ces *for* les. — 8. CEI aux autres; CEI somes *for* sont; H paoureus aussi bien que nous. — 9. C et ensuions; H nous maintenons la *for* ensuions nostre; H vie qu'avons acoustumee; CEFI *omit* et l'ensuions; H le temps *for* comme; CDE les *for* ces; H *omits* ces autres *and adds* je loe. — 10. CEFHI quoy *for* que; CEI aviengne et nous en retournons; CEI car, H que *for* ne; H *omits* il ne; CE fera *for* sera; I point *for* pas; H jours *for* temps; H mauvais *for* mal. — 11. CEI un lien *for* et; CEI son mal; CE *omit* si; ACDEHI le mal *for* les maus.

[XIII. Strange Feathers]

De rechief que aucuns ne se vante des estranges dons, il les amonneste, faignant que un grant corbel si avoit pris les pennes d'un paon qui estoient cheoites, et en estoit aorné et avoit les senes en despit, et se mesla en la compaignie des paons. Et les paons li vont oster que il ne le cognoissoient point les pennes mout vilainement, et le mordent et esgratinent des ongles, et le chaitif delaissié des paons demi mort doubta arriere aler a son propre genre. Car comme il estoit aorné des plus beles plumes estranges, il en espoënta pluseurs injurieusement. Et donc li dist un de ses compaignons: "Se tu eüsses aimé la vesteüre que nature te donna, ce te souffisist, ne tu n'eusses pas souffert l'injure que il t'ont faite, et si ne fusses pas debouté de nous.

1. A *adds* Exemple du corbel qui prist pennes de paon; CEI *omit* dons. — 2. A nous *for* les; CH *omit* les; CEHI *omit* si. — 3. CDEHI plumes *for* pennes; C cheues *for* cheoites; BCEFH s'en *for* en; EI et il. — 5. I mais *for* et; B les li; B voldrent *for* vont; CEI *omit* li vont oster. — 6. H pour ce que, I bien que; CEI estoit qui congneurent *for* le cognoissoient; CE pas, F pour, I mie *for* point; CEI point de leur compaignie (I si) lui osterent; EI ses *for* les; C *omits* les pennes; DEHI plumes *for* pennes; CEI *omit* mout. — 7. C ses ongles et; CDEHI mordirent, F bequent *for* mordent; C et l'; CDEHI esgratinerent; CE forment des; I

moult griefment des; CEI de leurs *for* des. — 8. D moult *for* mort; A mort il; BF sa *for* son. — 9. BF nature *for* genre; B quant *for* comme; B s'estoit, DH fust *for* estoit; CDEH de *for* des; BF *omit* plus beles; A pennes et beles. — 10. A *omits* en; H pluseurs si le villenerent et mutilerent. — 11. CE *omit* et; B vist il *for* dist; C des *for* de. — 12. CEI et *for* ce. — 13. CEI *omit* ne; DHI point *for* pas, E *omits* pas.

[XIV. Stag and Antlers]

De rechief contre ceulz meïsmes qui a eulz meïsmes loent choses non profitables. Le cerf bevant a la fontaine, si comme il vit ses cornes grans, il les commença a loër et ses cuisses gresles et tenvres a blasmer. Et comme il feïst ce, il oÿ soudement les veneürs et la vois des chiens abaier, et s'en eschapa en fuie parmi un champ. Et quant il entra el bois, la grandeur de ses cornes le retint si que les veneürs le pristrent. Et donc il voiant sa mort dist: "Les choses qui m'estoient profitables je blasmoie, et looie les nuisanz."

1. A *adds* Exemple du cerf; BCFH *omit* meismes. — 2. F venant *for* bevant; H en une *for* a la. — 5. H eust fait *for* feist. — 6. H abaier si; H tourna fuiant *for* en fuie. — 7. I mais *for* et; ABCDEFHI ou *for* el. — 9. C lui *for* il; H quant vit *for* voiant; I n' *for* m'.

[XV. Ant and Fly]

De rechief contre ceulz qui se loent contencieusement. Le formi et la mousche tençoient aigrement laquelle estoit meilleur de eulz. Et dist la mousche: "Tu ne te pues comparagier a noz loënges. La ou les entrailles sont sacrefiees, j'en gouste la premiere; et me sie sus la teste du roy et donne douz besiers a toutes les dames. Des quiex choses tu, formi, ne fais rien." Donc dist le formi: "Tu as dit ce contre toy, mauvaise pestilence

loe ta mauvaistié! Viens tu la desiree? Nenil. Les roys et les dames que tu nommes, te tiennent a mauvaise et y vas malgré leur. Et tu dis tout estre tien, et tu es chaciee la ou tu vas, et es aussi comme par injure dechaciee de ça et de la. Tu ne pues que en esté quant il n'est point de froit, et je vraiement sui en esté et en yver, et les choses d'yver sont delicieuses a moy, et tu en es hors boutee comme orde et puante.

1. A *adds* Exemple du fourmi et de la mousche *after* contencieusement. — 2. I tenoient *for* tencoient; CEFI tencoient ensemble; H pour ce que chascun des deux disoit estre plus digne de louenge *for* laquelle . . . eulz. — 3. I estoit la; CE eulz deux. — 4. B *omits* te; CE acompaigner, FI acomparagier, H acomparer; CE mes *for* noz; H moy *for* noz loenges; CEH car la. — 5. CDEHI sur *for* sus. — 6. CEI table *for* teste; H d'un *for* du. — 7. CEI *omit* formi; CEFHI adonc *for* donc. — 8. D la formy; I ce dit; B moy *for* toy. — 9. B tu *for* ta; F car viens; H tu ne peuz vanter *for* viens . . . desiree; F sanz estre *for* la; C mandee, D derriere, EI dessure *for* desiree; B nennin, FH *omit* nenil; H car les. — 10. C *omits* que tu nommes; I tres mauvaise. — 11. H car tu *for first* et; CEHI eulx *for* leur; DH *omit last* et; H de par tout *for* tu es chaciee. — 12. I par tout la; H tu *for* et; CDH ainsi *for* aussi. — 13. CDEHI chassee; H vivre que; CEI et quant. — 14. FH ne fait *for* n'est. — 15. I mais *for second* et. — 16. CDEI *omit* en; E boutee hors.

De ce meïsme contre les povres orgueilleux et les riches desloiaux et non estables : v

[XVI. Frog and Ox]

De rechief contre le povre orgueilleus. Une raine vit un buef pessant en un pré et cuidoit que ele peüst estre faite icele se ele emploit sa piau froncie. Et ele, enflant soy, demanda a ses filz se ele estoit ja aussi grant comme un buef; et il distrent que non. Et ele s'enfla plus de rechief et demanda as siens se ele estoit buef; les quiex respondirent que ele ne li resembloit de riens. Et tierce

foiz, si comme ele s'enfloit, la piau rompi et ele est morte. Et pour ce est il dit communement: "Ne vous enflez pas que vous ne crevez."

(Heading) B *inserts* v; F *omits* de ce meisme; C *reads* les povres et les riches orgueilleux; DEI *omit* orgueilleux; CH *omit* desloiaux, H *inserts* variables; CDEH *omit* non estables; B *omits* v; C *reads* Ve. (Fable XVI) 1. A *inserts* Exemple de la raine et du buef; CE les povres. 2. H *omits* que; DH *omit* ele peust . . . faite. — 3. BDFH telle, CEI tele *for* icele; H maiz qu' *for* se; H emplist fort *for* emploit; H pauce si menga fort et but tant qu'ele *for* piau . . . enflant; D se enflant. — 4. DH *omit* soy; B que *for* comme. — 5. I mais *for second* et; CEI *omits* s'; B plus et, H plus fort. — 6. B ele leur *for* et; H lors e^{t}; B *omits* as siens; I et ilz; CEI sa *for* la; CEFHI *omit* ele; F *omits* et est morte; BCEI fut *for* est; H mourut *for* est morte. — 9. H ou *for* est i^{l}; C *omits* vous. — 10. H pas tant.

[XVII. Proud Horse and Ass]

De rechief que ceulz qui beneürez se cuident ne facent injure a nul et se remembrent que la roe de fortune est doubteuse. Un cheval, aorné de frain d'argent et de belle selle d'or, courut contre un asne de loing en un lieu estroit, et estoit chargié et travaillié. Et pour ce avoit l'asne a celui trespassant lessié plus tart la voie pour ce que il estoit lassé de la voie, le cheval dist: "Se je ne me retenisse assez, je te rompisse tout des piez, que quant tu m'encontras ne me donnas pas lieu, ou tu ne arrestas tant que je passasse." Et le chetif asne se tut et gemi pour la paour et pour l'orgueil de li. Et pou aprés de temps le cheval fait rompu maigre en courant et en chevauchant, fu mené du commandement de son maistre a porter le fiens as champs et a vilz aornemens aloit par le chemin chargié. Et pour ce que l'asne paissant es prés le cognut si chaitif et si maleüré, il le commença a blasmer par tel son: "Que t'ont profitié

ces precieux aornemens dont tu avoies tel hardiesce, et maintenant tu uses avec nous de vilaines offices."

1. A *adds* Exemple du cheval orgueilleus; BF de *for* que. — 2. H leur souviengne *for* remembrent; CEI de *for* que. — 3. CE qui trop est; I qui est; D *omits* et. — 4. CE *omit* belle. — 5. CE estoit l'asne; I chargié l'asne. — 6 D a icelui H au cheval *for* a celui; H ocupé *for* lessié; DH *omit* plus . . . lassé. — 7. H *omits* de; CEI *omit* de la voie; F charge *for* voie; F et le, I mais le; B dist a l'asne. — 8. H a peu *for* je; H feust *for* retenisse assez; DH tous; D tez, F de mes, H tes *for* des. — 9. H pour ce que; F qui *for* que; CEI tu *for* ne; H feiz *for* donnas pas; CEI *omit* pas; H voie *for* lieu. — 10. H ou que; CEI *omit* tu ne; I toy *for* te; CEI jusques a tant; CEHI fusse passé *for* passasse; I mais *for* et; H mais *for* et. — 12. CEI *omit* de temps; CEI fut, F fu fait, H devint *for* fait; BCDEFHI rompu et. — 13. CE *omit* en; C si fu; FI et fu. — 14. EF les *for* le. — 15. C et aloit; I parmi *for* par; F *omits* et. — 16. A l'en recognut *for* le cognut; H et si. — 17. B se *for* le; H en lui disant *for* par tel; F telz; F moy *for* son; H *omits* son; D ton *for* t'ont. — 18. CEFH tes *for* ces; I que en *for* dont; A *repeats* et maintenant. — 19. E des; CEI vilz *for* vilaines.

[XVIII. Bat, Birds and Beasts]

De rechief contre ceulz qui se partent desloyaument des leur et trespassent as autres. Les bestes si faisoient guerre avecques les oysiaus, et l'une partie ne vainquoit l'autre, mes se combatoient forment; et la chauve souriz doutoit les grieves aventures et la grant compaignie des bestes, et elle qui estoit haut en l'air, se mist avec les bestes aussi comme avec les vainqueurs. Et soudement l'aigle vint avec les oysiaus et se mesla as bestes et, les bestes fuians s'en, la victoire fu des oisiaus; et puis sont retournez arriere les oisiaus et les bestes a la premiere pais. Et la chauve souriz fu condampnee par la sentence des oisiaus; pour ce que elle avoit les siens lassiez et est despoilliee de ses plumes pour voler nue par nuit.

Aussi cil qui ara mesfait nuisant as deux parties, il est mal agreable a l'un et l'autre et vit plus nuisant a lui meïsmes.

1. A *adds* Exemple de la chauve souriz; I de *for* contre; CEI departent *for* partent. — 2. BF de; CDEFHI leurs; BF estas et; CEI *omit* si. — 3. CEI contre *for* avecques; A des parties *for* partie; H pouvoit vaincre *for* vanquoit; BF vainquoit point. — 5. CEI *omit* grieves. — 6 C bestes cuidant tout ce estre moult bien a son avantaige; F ce *for* et; F estoit en. — 7. CH ainsi *for* aussi; I *omits* aussi; DH *omit* avec. — 8. I si vint; F *omits* et se . . . victoire; CEI et les desconfist et. — 9. CEHI *omit* s'en; H se mist avec les oiseaulx qui obtindrent la; FH *omit* fu des oisiaus; CEI aux *for* fu des. — 10. H firent *for* sont; H *omits* retournez; H *omits* arriere . . . premiere. — 11. H. pais entre eulx; I mais *for* et; H et fu lors; CEI *omit* par la; CEI *omit* sentence des oisiaus. — 13. CEI *omit* est, F fu *for* est; CEI a *for* pour; I *omits* nue. — 14. DH et aussi; CH ainsi *for* aussi; C *omits* il. — 15. F et a; CDEHI une; BCDEFHI a l'autre; CDEHI *omit* et . . . meismes; F que aidant *for* a lui meismes.

Contre les envieus et folz et vendanz leur franchises : VI

[XIX. Sparrow-Hawk and Linnet]

De rechief contre les aguetans a mal faire. Si comme un esprevier s'estoit assis sus le ni d'une linote pour regarder le temps, il trouva illeuc petiz poucins, et la linote seurvint tant tost et pria a celui que il espargnost a ses poucins. "Je ferai," dist il, "ce que tu veulz se tu me chantes bien." Et icelle fist oultre son courage comme contrainte de paour et plaine de douleur, et chanta. L'esprevier qui avoit trouvé sa proie dist: "Tu n'as pas bien chanté," et prist un des poucins et le commença a devourer. Et un oiselleur le vint d'une autre partie, et a une petite hautelete recorbee au bout prist l'esprevier et le geta a terre. Et ainsi ceulz qui espient les autres doivent craindre que il ne soient pris.

(Heading) H Derechief contre; B le; C francz, D lefrans, EI frans *for* folz; CEHI *omit second* et. (Fable XIX) A *adds* Exemple de l'espervier et de la linote; H il feint une telle fable *for* si comme. — 3. I petiz enfans; I mais *for* et. — 5. C *omits* a. — 6. CEI *omit* me; CEI contre *for* oultre. — 7. E doulceur *for* douleur; CEI *omit second* et; I chanta mais; I point *for* pas. — 9. I *omits* le; I dist tu seras devoré *for* commenca a devourer. — 10. F *omits* un oiselleur le; CEI homme *for* oiselleur; BDH *omit* le; CEI leur *for* le; A vit *for* vint. — 11. CEI *omit* et; C a tout; F *omits* au bout; CEI bout et. — 12. F aussy *for* ainsi; I *omits* ceulz. — 13. CEI et doubter que; F a estre *for* que il ne soient; CEI espiez et pris; I esprins *for* pris.

[XX. Man and Trees]

De rechief que aucuns ne preste armeüres a son anemi. Comme la coignie fust faite, l'omme requeroit as arbres que il li donnassent manche de fust qui fust ferme. Laquelle chose faite, l'omme prist le manche et le appropria a la coignie et en coupoit les rains et les grans arbres et tout ce que il vouloit. Donc dist le chesne au fresne: "Nous usons dignement et bien qui comme avugles a nostre anemi depriant avon donné manche." Et pour ce chascun se pourpense avant que il ne preste a son anemi armeüre.

1. ACDEHI *omit* que aucuns; H on ne doit; DH prester, CDEHI preste nulles; CEI ton *for* son; H anemi par cest exemple. — 2. H quant *for* comme; CE requist. — 3. CEI *omit* qui fust. — 5. H *omits* grans. — 7. BF souffrons ceste chose, H avons esté *for* usons; H bien abusez *for* dignement et bien; C *omits* comme avugles. — 8. C a nous *for* avon; CEI manche de quoy il nous destruit. — 9. F *omits* se; CEHI *omit* ne. — 10. CEI *omit* armeure *and insert* chose dont (C de quoy) mal lui puisse (I puet) venir.

[XXI. Dog and Wolf]

De rechief a la loënge de franchise il faint que comme le chien et le lou se assemblassent ensemble en un bois,

le lou dist au chien: "De quoy est ce que tu es si luisant et si gras?" Et le chien respondi: "Car je sui garde de la maison mon maistre contre les larrons et m'est le pain aporté et mon seigneur me donne des os. Et toute la mesnie me aiment et me donnent de la viande, et l'yaue ne me faut point, et couche souz la couverture. Et ainsi demaine ma vie sanz riens faire." Au quel le lou dit: "Frere, je voudroie bien que ces choses m'avenissent, que je oiseus fusse saoule de viande et vesquisse miex souz couverture." Et dist le chien: "Se tu veulz que il te soit bien, si vien avec moy et n'aies paour." Et si comme il aloient ensemble, le lou vit le col au chien lié de chaënnes, et dist: "Qu' est ceci, frere? Quel est ce lien que tu as entour le col?" Et le chien dist: "Je sui liez aucunes foiz, car je en sui plus aigre; et sui deslié par nuit dedenz l'ostel et me vois esbatant entre les maisons et dorm la ou je veul." Et le lou dist: "Il ne m'est mestier user de tiex choses que tu m'as loees. Je veul vivre franc, quar je vois tout franc a ma volenté la ou je veul a ce qui me plest. Nule chaiënne ne me tient. Nule cause ne me empeesche. Les voies me sont aouvertes as champs. Je gouste le premier des bestes. Je escharnis les chiens par mon enging. Vif si comme tu as acoustumé, et si je vivrai si comme j'ay acoustumé aussi."

1. A *adds* Exemple du chien et du loup; F *omits* comme. — 4. BF il *for* le chien; CH *omit* car *and* H *inserts* pour ce que. — 5. CH de mon; B *omits* mon maistre. — 6. D *omits second* et. — 7. BCEFHI aime; CEI donne. — 10. F tiex *for* ces. — 11. D et que; F fusse et. — 12. C *omits* miex; C la couverture; C et adonc; I et lors. — 13. BCDEFHI *omit* si. — 14. C aies pas, F aies nulle; D pour *for* paour; I mais *for* et; I *omits* ensemble. — 15. H du *for* au; H si lui *for* lié de chaennes et; ACDEI d'une *for* de; ACDEI chaienne; I lui dist et. — 16. CI cy, D ce, H cela *for* ceci; D le *for* ce; I qui est *for* que tu as; CEI ton *for* le. —17. I mais *for* et; I lui dist; CE liez entour mon col. — 19. C contre, I parmi *for* entre; CEI me dorm. — 20. A lors *for* et; D *omits*

il; D de user; H des *for* de tiex. — 21. B *omits* tu; F loee.— 22. H et a ce; CEI en *for* a; CI qu'il *for* qui. — 23. C *omits* me; I retient; FI ne nule; C chose *for* cause. — 24. C es *for* as; C *adds* et aux boys, E aux boiz, I au boys *after* champs. — 25. C evite *for* escharnis. — 26. CE *omit* si; BCDEFHI *omit second* si. — 27. CE *omit* si; H ainsi que *for* comme; CEHI *omit* aussi.

Contre les envieus, paresceus, folz, et avers, vanteürs, lobeürs, et menteürs: VII

[XXII. Belly and Members]

De rechief contre les paresceux qui labourer ne veulent, il faint ceste fable que les mains et les piez orent despit du ventre et ne li vouldrent donner viande, pour ce que sanz nul travail, que il feïst, il estoit touz jours replani et se seoit tout oiseus, et en despit de lui ne voudrent labourer, et li deneerent tout servise. Le ventre vraiement tout familleus crioit, mes eulz ne li vouldrent riens donner par pluseurs jours. Le ventre certes geunant, les membres toutes se laschièrent. Et aprés ce ceulz voudrent donner viande au ventre, et le ventre les refusa, car il avoit ja clos les voies. Et ainsi les membres et le ventre lassez morurent ensemble.

(Heading) H de rechief contre; H *omits* envieus; F vains *for* folz; H *omits* folz et avers; D *omits* et; F avers et; CDEHI *omit* vanteurs; F vanteurs et; F flateurs *for* lobeurs; F porteurs de nouvelles *for* menteurs. (Fable XXII) 1. A *adds* Exemple des mains et des piez qui orent despit du ventre. — 2. BF *omit* ceste fable; B un despit. — 3. C plus donner. — 4. H face *for* feist; ADH est *for* estoit. — 5. CEI rempli *for* replani; H *omits* tout; CEI ilz ne. — 6. C defendirent *for* deneerent. — 7. H *omits* vraiement tout familleus; CDEFI *omit* tout; H crioit de rage de faim; A il, CDEHI ilz *for* eulz. — 8. B *omits* certes. — 9. BCDEFHI tous. — 10. A il, CEI ilz, DH qu'ilz *for* ceulz; I mais *for* et; DH *omit* et le ventre; H ventre il; CEI le, DH la *for* les. — 11. F refuse. — 12. I tous ensemble.

[XXIII. Monkey and Fox]

De rechief contre envie et avarice, il faint ceste fable que le singe pria le gourpil que il li donnast de la grandeur de sa queue, que il en couvrist ses naches tres laides. "Quel profit as tu," dist il, "que tu la traines si longue et si pesant par terre?" Au quel le gourpil dist: "Je aime miex que ele soit faite greigneur et plus longue, et que je la traine par terre, par pierres, par espines, et par boe, que tu fusses veü plus bel de la couverture de cele." "Riche," dist il, "et aver, il te blame par sa fable que tu ne donnes ce de quoy tu as trop."

1. A *adds* Exemple du singe et du gourpil; I *omits* et avarice; BF *omit* ceste fable — 2. H *omits* que; C ung regnart, H le renart *for* le gourpil. — 3. CDEHI a fin que; F si que; B nues *for* tres. — 4. CEI en disant *for* dist il. — 5. CH regnart *for* gourpil. — 7. E le *for* la; D pres *for* pierres. — 8. C la boe; H embely *for* veu plus bel; CEI par *for* de; CDEFHI d'icelle. — 9. H *inserts* O *before* riche; H *has* je *for second* il; D *omits* sa, H ceste *for* sa. — 10. H pour ce que; BF quant *for* que; H donnes mie; I or *for* ce; D ce que.

[XXIV. Workman and Ass]

De rechief contre ceulz qui par annui de vivre et de travaillier desirent la mort. Un laboureur fu qui son asne chargié batoit en la voie d'un fouet et d'une verge pour ce que il venist tost a la foire pour cause de gaaignier. L'asne desiroit la mort et cuidoit estre seür aprés, et li lasse et casse. Aprés sa mort sont fais tabors et timbres de la pel de cel asne qui cuidoit estre seür, et il sont touz jors batus.

1. A *adds* Exemple; C *omits third* de. — 2. BF travail. — 3. H asne tout. — 4. BFH *omit* pour ce *and* H *inserts* afin. — 5. BF gaing; I mais l'asne. — 6. H si tost li; F casse que; F fussent *for* sont; H mourut leu fist *for* apres . . . fais. — 7. H cribles

for timbres; BF sa *for* la; CDH de cest, I d'icelui *for* de cel; H *omits* qui cuidoit estre seur; F *after* seur *inserts* de sa pel sont entendus les chetis sers qui ont esperance de recouvrer franchise. — 8. H par ce moyen il; H fut *for* sont; H plus batu que devant *for* touz jors batuz.

[XXV. Fox and Grapes]

De rechief contre ceulz qui ce qu'il ne pueent faire, demonstrent il pouoir faire par paroles et par volenté. Un gourpil contraint de fain regarda une grape pendant en haut, et il se boutoit sus un haut degré, et tant de 5 foiz comme il y vouloit ataindre, il ne pouoit. Et en la par fin dist il: "Je ne te veul point; tu es aigre et non pas meüre." Et aussi comme se il ne la daignast touchier, il s'en ala.

1. A *adds* Exemple du gourpil; C *omits* de rechief; D *repeats* ce; CE *omit* ce qu'il; D *omits* ne; H le feignent laisser *for* faire demonstrent; CI faire et. — 2. CHI *omit* il; CDEHI *omit* pouoir; F pouoir de; H *omits* faire; CDEFHI parole; D la volenté. — 3. CH regnart *for* gourpil; H *omits* de fain. — 4. BF *omit* en; C monta, EI s'en monta *for* se boutoit; DH *omit* haut; H *omits second* et. — 5. DH *omit* y; H ataindre et; H a *for* en. — 6. CEI *omit* par; BF *omit* il; CEHI n'en *for* ne te; D *omits* te; H elle est trop *for* tu es. — 7. H peu *for* non pas; I point *for* pas; CH ainsi *for* aussi; D *omits* se; DH n'y *for* ne la. — 8. EI *omit* il.

[XXVI. Monkeys and Men]

De rechief contre les lobeürs et raconteürs de nouveles. Deus hommes, l'un faus, l'autre vray, si comme il aloient par terre, il vindrent en la province des singes. Et si comme un des singes, qui estoit establi greigneur mestre 5 que les autres, les vit, il commanda ces hommes estre tenuz et demander leur que il diroient de lui. Et commanda touz les autres singes semblables a li ester eulz a destre et a senestre de li, et commanda que l'en li

feïst un siege bel et grant si comme il avoit aucune faiz veü faire. Et adonc il a commandé ces hommes estre amenez devant. Et dist celui greigneur singe: "Qui sui je? Di!" Et le tricheür respondi: "Tu es emperiere." Et il dist de rechief: "Et ceulz que tu vois ci ester devant moy?" Et il respondi: "Il sont contes et chevaliers et princes et ont ces autres offices." Celui adonques est loé en sa mençonge, et est commandé avoir grans dons, pour ce que il l'a lobé et deceüs touz les autres. Et l'autre veritable homme disoit en soy meïsmes: "Cestui qui est menteür et faux, qui est ainsi guerredoné de sa mençonge! Que serai je se je di voir?" Adonc li a ce singe demandé: "Di tu, quel sui je, et ceulz que tu vois entour moy?" Celui qui amoit verité respondi: "Tu es un singe, et touz ceulz ci sont singes semblables a toy." Et maintenant il est commandé estre despecié as dens et as ongles pour ce que il avoit dit ce qui estoit voir. En ceste maniere seult il estre fait des mauvais hommes que fallaces et malices soient amez, et honnesté et verité soit despité.

1. A *adds* Exemple des singes; A menconges *for* nouveles; CEI nouveles il faint ceste fable.— 2. H *omits* il. — 3. B *omits* et . . . singes; H *omits* si. — 4. E saiges *for* singes; H estoient. — 5. CEI des *for* que les; CEI les H qu'ilz *for* ces hommes; H feussent retenuz pour savoir *for* estre . . . demander. — 6. C demanda, E demande, I *omits* demander; ACDEHI *omit* leur; H *omits second* et; CEHI *omit* commanda. — 7. H *transposes* touz . . . de li *after* faire, *l.* 10; CEI entour *for* semblables a; H feussent *for* ester; B soi *for* eulz, CEHI *omit* eulz. — 8. H a coste de; CEI *omit* de li; H si *for second* et; CEI on *for* l'en. — 9. I feist venir; CEH beau; H *omits* et *and* si. — 10. H faire et si ordonna que; H en apres *for* et adonc; CDEI *omit* adonc; CEI *omit* il a commandé; FH commanda *for* a commandé; D a ces, H que ces; CEHI ces deux; H feussent *for* estre. — 11. ABCDEFHI devant lui; H lors dist a l'un; H ce *for* celui; H maistre *for* greigneur; CEI singe a ces deux hommes. — 12. C *omits* di; H *omits* le; H l'homme tricheur; H respondi le premier et dist; H es ung droit. — 13. C *omits* et il dist de rechief; F demanda, H l'interroga

for dist; H *omits second* et; CEI entour *for* ci ester devant. — 14. H moy qui sont ilz; CEF dist *for* et il respondi; DI *omit* et il respondi; H ce *for second* il; H sont ducs; CDEHI *omit second* et; H chevaliers barons.

15. H *omits* ont ces; C telz, EF tes *for* ces; F nobles *for* autres; H officiers; H cest homme cy *for* celui adonques; CEFH fut *for* est. — 16. H fort avancé a la court des singes *for* loé; H pour *for* en; F fu *for* est; H lui furent *for* est commandé; F qu'il eust, H donnez *for* avoir; B grant *for* don. — 17. CEFHI *omit* l'; H avoit *for* a; H *omits* lobé . . . et *and inserts* menty mais. — 18. H homme ce voiant; C a *for* en; H se cestui. — 19. DH *omit* qui; I est *for* et; H trompeur *for* faux; H *omits* qui. — 20. H feray *for* serai; DF *omit* li. — 21. ACDEHI le, F celui *for* ce; F demande et; H *omits* di tu; CF toy; CH qui *for* quel; I tous ceulz. — 22. J environ *for* entour; F moy et. — 23. D ces *for* ceulz; D *omits* sont. — 24. C incontinent, H tantost *for* maintenant; CEF fut *for* est; H le maistre single commanda qu'il feust dessiré *for* il . . . despecié; F a estre. — 26. B voir et; C souloit. — 27. CEHI *omit* que; H qui par flaterie et menterie *for* fallaces et malices; B malice; HI sont; H avancez *for* amez; F amez et honnorez; D honne *for* honnesté et; CEFI honnestés. — 28. CEI vrais disans, F veritez *for* verité; CEFI soient; H maiz on n'a cure de oyr *for* et . . . despité; A despité et haie.

Contre les orgueilleus, peresceus, et en quel maniere il est a user de ces fables : VIII

[XXVII. Ass and Lion.]

De rechief contre ceulz qui ne veulent riens faire par vertu et espoëntent les autres par paroles et par mains. L'asne si vint de diverses parties et acourut contre le lyon, et dist ainsi: "Monton el quaquevel de cele montaigne, et je te monsterrai que pluseurs me craignent." Et lyon riant li dit: "Alon." Et si comme il vindrent au lieu, l'asne estent soy en cel lieu, et commença a crier a voiz basse. Et quant les lievres et les gourpilz l'oïrent, il commencierent a courir. Au quel le lyon dist: "Et

10 ta voiz me pourrist ele espoënter se je ne savoie qui tu fusses."

(Heading) H *omits* contre . . . fables *and* inserts contre ceulz qui ne font nulz beaux faiz et l'exortation de l'aucteur; CDEI envieux *for* orgueilleus F *omits* peresceus; CI *omit* et; D *omits* en; I *omits* en . . . fables; CDE *omit* de ces fables. (Fable XXVII) 1. H qui a la verité; H font nulz beaux faiz maiz *for* veulent . . . vertu et. — 2. D verité *for* vertu; H de parole *for* par paroles; BF *omit second* et; B tres sainnes, F vainnes, H de maniere *for* par mains. — 3. H li asnes; CEI *omit* si; B diverse partie; H regions *for* parties. — 4. H lui dist; BCDEHI ou *for* el; BCEH sommet, F sommerel *for* quaquevel; CEH ceste *for* cele. — 5. I *omits* te; H tu verras *for* je te monsterrai. — 6. BCDEFI le lyon; I lou *for* lyon. — 7. H ou hault *for* au lieu; CE *omit* estent soy; H s'estendy *for* estent soy; B ou *for* en; CE *omit* en cel lieu; ADHI ce, B dit *for* cel; BCEF *omit* et. — 8. CH regnartz *for* gourpilz. — 9. CE si *for* il; D *omits* le; CH *omit* et. — 10. BCDEFI pourroit; B ausi *for* ele; F ele aussy; H *omits* ta . . . fusses *and inserts* je croy que tu me feroies paour se je ne t'avoie onques veu; CE ne te congnusse et ne; CF que.

[XXVIII. Lion and Fox].

De rechief contre ceulz qui legierement entrent en la maison des puissans hommes. Le lyon si faignoit que il estoit malade, et par ceste fallace, si comme les autres bestes venoient a li visiter il les mengoit maintenant. Et
5 le gourpil vint devant la fosse au lyon et le salua. Et le lyon li demanda pour quoi il n'entroit ens. Et il renpondi: "Pour ce que je voi bien la trace des entranz, mais je ne la voy point des issans."

1. A *adds* Exemple; CEI de *for* contre. — 2. B du poissant homme; CE *omit* si; C faignant estre *for* faignoit . . . estoit. — 4. CEI bestes le; CEI *omit* a li; DH le *for* li; C incontinent *for* maintenant; CE et si comme. — 5. C regnart *for* gourpil; CEI du *for* au; C *omits second* et, I mais *for* et. — 7. H de ceulz qui y entrent *for* des entranz. — 8. CEHI *omit* la; CDE pas; CEI la trace des; H celle de ceulx qui en yssent *for* des issans.

[XXIX. Ant and Cricket].

De rechief contre les peresceus. Le formi el temps d'yver traioit le fourment de sa fosse hors et le sechoit, le quel formi il avoit conqueilli en esté. Le gressillon si le prioit que il li donnast aucune chose de viande pour vivre, car il mouroit de fain. Auquel le fourmi dist: "Que faisoies tu en esté?" "Je n'i entendoie point," dist il, "mes me esbatoie par les buissons et chantoie." Le formi adonc, riant et encloant son forment, dist: "Se tu chantas en esté, si sail en yver." Ceste fable enseigne le pereceus que il laboure en certain temps, si que quant il ara petit, il n'ara pas ce que il demandera.

1. A *adds* Exemple; ABDFH ou, CEI par *for* el. — 2. C si traioit; CH tiroit *for* traioit; C hors de; BCF la *for* sa; E *omits* hors. — 3. BFH forment *for* formi; C formi si; CDEI l' *for* il; CE esté et; BF criquet *for* gresillon; CE *omit* si. — 4. CDEHI lui *for* le; I pria. — 5. H demanda *for* dist. — 7. I parmi *for* par. — 8. D si *for* se. — 10. ACDHI les, F au *for* le; CDEHI ilz *for* il; ABCDEHI labourent; F temps de prosperité; FH *omit* si . . . demandera; F *inserts* que il n'ait deffaute en temps d'aversité, H *inserts* pour recueillir et vivre en l'autre. — 11. I appetit *for* petit.

[Epilogue]

L'aucteur. Ces choses ay je voulu estraire des fables de Esope, les quelles se par aventure aucune chose en plaise reciter en commun, si comme aucuns des sages le font pour alegier l'ennui des oyanz, qui sont delictez de tiex choses. Et avec sont veüz avoir aucune chose de bon edefiement pour les demonstrances qui i sont. Et toute voies ne estime je pas ce a estre fait fors sagement et espergnablement, si que ceulz qui par saintes paroles doivent estre apelez a voie de penitence et a la devocion de Dieu, il ne soient pas trop enjoïs en ris et en joliveté.

Et avec ce que a raconter les fables aussi comme deüement a l'essample des preeschans il ne soient mal enformez. De rechief savoir mon se cestui Esope soit celui qui Eusebe tesmoigne estre occis des Delphins le premier an de Cyri, ou se ce fu un autre je n'en sui pas certain.

Maintenant certes je retorne a ma matiere.

1. D *omits* l'aucteur. — 2. des *for* les. — 4. CEH se delictent *for* sont delictez CEI en oyant, H en *for* de. — 5. CEHI avec ce; C aulcunes choses. — 6. CDEFHI toutes. — 7. BF foiz *for* voies; I escripve *for* estime; CI point *for* pas; CEI *omit* a. — 8. D que *for* qui. — 10. CEI *omit* il; I point *for* pas; BCFI ne *for* et. — 11. I *omits* et . . . enformez; C en *for* a; B ces *for* les; CDH ainsi *for* aussi. — 12. ACDEH pas mal. — 13. H a savoir; D ce *for* se; Ce est *for* soit; CDEHI que *for* qui. — 14. F a estre. — 15. B *omits* se. — 16. A *omits* maintenant . . . matiere *and inserts* ci fenist ce livret Esope; I mais certes; F mais il est temps maintenant que certes; BF *omits* certes.

ESOPO ZUCCARINO

EDITED BY

MURRAY P. BRUSH

Among the numerous collections of Aesopic fables found in Italian literature before the sixteenth century, none shows greater beauty of form or greater finish in detail than that compiled toward the middle of the fifteenth century by Accio Zucco, of Somma Campagna, a small village near Verona. It is a translation of the well-known twelfth century collection in Latin distichs usually attributed to Walter of England,[1] and consists of sixty-four fables in sonnets,[2] there being two to each fable, one for the example, the other for the moral. It is preceded by a prologue, and also by an introduction of four sonnets,[3] and is followed by a thirty-two line *Can-*

[1] For the collection of Walter of England, or the Anonymous Neveleti as it is sometimes called, see Léopold Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, 2nd ed., Paris 1893 sq., I, 472-502, II, 316-351; W. Foerster, *Lyoner Ysopet*, Heilbronn, 1882, Vol. VI of *Altfranzösische Bibliothek;* H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, Vol. II (1893), 309-321; M. P. Brush, *Ysopet III of Paris*, PMLA., XXIV, 494-546. For other Italian derivatives of Walter of England, see Hervieux, *op. cit.*, I, 637-665; K. McKenzie, *Note sulle antiche favole italiane*, in *Miscellanea di studi critici e ricerche erudite in onore di V. Crescini*, Cividale del Friuli, 1910; M. P. Brush, *The Isopo Laurenziano*, Columbus, Ohio, 1899 (J. H. Diss.), pp. 31-42.

[2] There are really sixty-five fables, as the story of the Athenians seeing a King is entirely separate from the dependent fable of the Frogs desiring a King. Ward (*loc. cit.*) classes these as fifty-eight Aesopic fables and two tales, followed by two supplementary fables and two tales.

[3] The edition of 1483 has also a prefatory sonnet which precedes the prologue.

zonetta, and a *Canzone* of eight fifteen-line stanzas with an envoy of eleven lines.

The collection has come down to us in a single manuscript, dated 1462, and in some sixteen early printed editions ranging from 1479 to 1566.[4] In the main the printed editions agree, but together show such variations from the manuscript that we must suppose an older form of the collection as the original translation. In the manuscript and in all of the earlier editions the Latin text[5] alternates with the Italian, and one is often surprised at the fidelity of the translation when one realizes that more than once a fable of but ten or twelve lines has been developed into two full sonnets. Rarely is there any introduction of new *motifs,* rather the translator amplifies his text by repeating the essential facts

[4] Hervieux (*loc. cit.*) gives a list of these editions as follows: 1479 at Verona, 1483 Rome (not Venice, as erroneously stated in my *Isopo Laurenziano,* p. 33, fn. 100), 1487 Brescia, 1491 (1492) Venice (Dr. Mackenzie has found a copy of this edition in the Harvard University Library), 1493 Venice, 1497 Venice, 1498 Milan, 1502 at Venice and at Milan, 1520 Milan, 1528 Venice, 1533 Venice, 1544 Venice, 1566 Venice. In addition to the foregoing list, we have references to two other editions as follows:

a. 1494 Bologna. This edition is described in *Opere della Bibliografia Bolognese che si conservano nella Bibliotheca municipale di Bologna,* Luigi Frati, Bologna, 1889, II, col. 897, No. 7258: *In*-4. cc. 72 *n. n., car. rom., s. rich., c. segnat. A-I, lin.* 37. *Non registrata dal Hain.* The colophon reads: Impresso ne lalma & inclita cita | de Bologna ne lo edificio da carta | dela illustrissima madon(n)a Zeneura | sforcia de bentiuogli: per maestro | Hercules nani sotto al diuo & illu | stro signore misser Giouan(n)i benti- | uoglio sforza di uesconti da ragona | ne lanno del nostro signore misser | Jesu Cristo, Mccccl xxxxiiii. a di xxii. de Febraro. Laus deo. Finis.

b. 1508 Venice. This edition is cited in Ilari's catalogue of the Bibliotheca Comunale di Siena (I, 226) as having the same colophon as the edition of 1502 except the date, which is 1508 *a di* 20 *de Decembrio.* It is also listed in Brunet, *Manuel du libraire,*[5] I, col. 98.

[5] A comparison of this with Foerster's critical text (*loc. cit.*) shows little variation.

of the story and by stressing the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. In the *Canzone* which closes the collection, he again repeats in epigrammatic form the lesson taught by each and every fable, thus giving a brief résumé of his whole work.

In the same *Canzone* we find the title of the book, for in the last line of the first stanza the author says: *Ollo nomato Exopo Zucharino.* That he did not believe in literary incognito is shown by the envoy of the poem, of which the last seven lines read:

> S'el nome mio alcun saper volesse,
> Digli che Azo è'l proprio nome mio.
> Or vatene con Dio,
> E franchamente mostra la tua arte;
> E se trovi in parte
> Che del pronome mio saper si lagna,
> Risponde il Zucho da Soma Campagna.

The basis of the accompanying edition of the fables is the unique manuscript preserved in the British Museum as *Additional* 10389. It is described by Ward as follows: "Paper; A. D. 1462. Folio; ff. 54, having 30 to 34 lines to a page. Imperfect, a leaf being lost after f. 27. Followed (ff. 56^b and 57^b) by other entries in *Latin* verse and prose. With initials in blue and red, and 76 coloured drawings. At the foot of the first page is a shield of arms, bendy nebuly of 8, argent and gules. The shield is between two lozenges, one of them bearing the motto "Pax Aeterna", and the other bearing a device which looks something like a tradesman's mark, together with the initials "b" and "A" (f. 3). The arms and motto are repeated further on, upon the trappings of a knight's horse (f. 54); and the colophon gives the name of the scribe as "Jhoanes benedictus aurifex," together with the same motto (f. 57).[6] The full text of the colophon is: *De sorio / Jhoanes benedictus aurifex scripsit die* .15.

[6] Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 331.

augustij / 1462. *i(n) co(n)trata sa(n)cti saluarij.* Of this scribe we know nothing.[7] Fr. Douce, in a letter of February 17, 1817, addressed to Richard Heber, a former owner of the manuscript, and which has been pasted in the binding, considers that the *aurifex* stood for 'goldsmith' rather than the surname *Orefice.* The drawings with which the manuscript is profusely illustrated are of exceptional merit, many of them being worthy of reproduction. In addition to the fables, the manuscript contains the epitaph of John Visconti, Duke of Milan, and a list of the early Doges of Venice.

In preparing the text for publication, the abbreviations have been solved and marks of punctuation, capital letters, and accents have been introduced in accordance with modern usage. Changes from the original reading have been made only where there was evident error on the part of the scribe, and all such changes have been indicated by italics, while the manuscript reading, in each case, has been put in the footnotes. Owing to the exigencies of printing, the words *Sonetus* and *Comentum,* found before the fables and morals respectively, have been omitted.

Use has been made of the editions of 1479 and 1483 to supply all lacunae in the manuscript and to give the more important variant readings.[8] The text of the printed editions is so unlike that of the manuscript in orthography and in the order of words, that it has been necessary to limit the citation of variants to distinctly different readings and to lines where the printed text serves to illuminate a particularly obscure passage.

[7] Mentioned by Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists,* London, Vol. I, 1887, pp. 120-121, the reference being to this manuscript only.

[8] For the manuscript, a rotograph copy, made by the Oxford University Press, was used; for the first editions, a copy of the 1479 edition made by the writer, revised and with the variants of the edition of 1483 inserted by Mr. P. B. Fay of the Johns Hopkins University.

INCIPIT LIBER EXOPII ZUCARINI EDITI A ZUCONE DE SUMA CAMPANEA.

I. El me convien vestir de l'altru fronde,
Per che l'enzegno mio troppo è ligiero,
E seguir l'orma per si bon sentero,
Che al mio rimar faça perfecte sponde.
Eccoti Exopo, che qui mi responde
Con chiaro volto e animo sanciero,
E disse a me cum suo parlar *maniero:*
"I' dono a te le mie faule jocunde."
I spiriti mei alor tuti fuor mossi
Per l'alegreza quali eran dii prima
Tuti occupati e d'ignorancia grossi.
Cominciar volgio adonca dala cima
E revestir di lui li nudi dossi,
Tanto che redurolo tuto in rima.
Colui che regie nel celeste regno,
Sua gratia preste al mio picolo ingiegno!

II. Chiamòmi poscia el mio doctore indrio,
Volgarizando me disse: "Figliolo,
Poi ch'entrar voy nel gracioso bruolo,
E di me rivestir il tuo dixio,
Fa ch'el tuo ymaginar sempre sia pio,
Nè di superbia non salir in suolo;
Amato ne seray per tuto il stuolo,
E primamente avray gracia da Dio.
Multi vi son ch'el fructo guasta atento,
Et altri per dileto el fiore gusta,
Nè di niun di loro il gusto sento,
Per che meglio si senta la lor usta.
Voglio che sopra me faci comento
Sì ch'el si veza la sentenza giusta."
Comiato prexi, et el mi benedisse;
El suo comento poy per me si scrisse.

MS. I. 7 mainero.

Var. I. 10 qual gli fe di prima. 15 alto regno. 16 debil ingiegno.

Var. II. 9 Alguno v'è; gusta. 10 E alguno. 11 nullo.

I. "Una sala depincta a una ystoria,
Dice il maestro, più rende leticia
Che una fata per altra faticia,
E più s'attende a seguir sua memoria.
Cossì questo zardin te presta gloria
De vagi fiori e de fruto divicia,
L'un saporita e l'altro per mundicia,
Ti mostra relucente sua vitoria.
Adoncha acogli quel che più t'agrada,
O voy l'adorno fiore, o 'l dolce fructo,
Tu sei de libertà su rita strada,
E se trambe te piace, cogle el tuto.
E Dio, de sua sanctissima roxada,
Bagni il piccol parlar cotanto suto.
Parole breve porta gran consiglio,
E secha gussa sconde bon nosiglio."

II. Mostrando a voy el gracioso amore,
El doctore benigno qui presente,
L'amicicia deserta di sua mente,
Ut juvet et prosit ecco per gran dolzore,
Che come dice Ysodoro doctore,
Per nulla forza amicicia se pente,
Siando verace, nè mai si desmente,
Per che tra l'altre possi chiamar fiore.
Ecco la sala pinta, ecco il zardino,
Ecco il fiore, ecco il fruto soave,
Ch'esse fuori del fior cotanto fino.
Coglite il fiore che perfecta chiave,
El fior lasiate stare al fantolino,
Che lezendo gli toglie mente prave.
Ben che l'uno per l'altro siano buoni,
Per che l'alegoria meglio disponi.

Var. I. 1 vagha historia. 3 Che quando è fatta. 7 Che un per sapore. 14 parlar mio tanto asciutto. 16 sica scorza.

Var. II. 2 dottor mio. 3 Con perfetta amicicia. 4 Te dinota fugire ogni dolore. 8 tra le virtù se chiama il fiore. 9 gloria *for* zardino. 11 Che nasce. 12 il fruto. 13 fanciullino. 15 con *for* per. 16 meglio gli exponi.

1. Cock and Jewel.

I. Dice il maestro ch'el gallo raspando
En el letame per trovar del grano,
Meravegliòssi ch 'el ghe vene a mano
Una preciosa pietra, et el parlando
Disse: "O preciosa cossa, in quanto bando
Sei posta scuoxa in luoco si vilano!
Se l'artifice ti fosse prozano,
Di te traria sua vita lieto stando.
Per me non fay, e io de te non curo;
Più ameria una cossa men richa
Che dela fame me fesse securo."
Cossì l'ignorante sempre picha
Contrario de fortuna dov' è il cuoro
De l'aspra provertà sempre l'empicha.
Sì come il gallo sprexia tal semenza,
Cossì desprexia il mato la scienza.

II. Mostravi il gallo qui raspar letoame,
Cioè l'uomo quando sta in mortal pecato,
Che quando dal buon homo fi consigliato
Dice che ama più trovar il grame,
Cioè di pecati il doloroso strame;
E cossì contra Dio sta sfigurato,
Ay doloroso tristo sciagurato!
Che non gli valerà puo dir: "I'ò fame."
Disprexia poi la pietra preciosa,
Cioè la scienza, et ama il tristo pasto
Dela gola crudele e dolorosa.
Cossì l'uomo cativo, quando al tasto
Si da cum mente vile et occiosa,
Sì como bestia può portar il basto.
Ma fa che al gallo tu non assimiglie,
Il bon consiglio vo che sempre piglie.

MS. II, 15-16 *lacking.*

Var. I. 8 S'el te havesse uno artifice soprano. 14 ogni hor *for* sempre.

Var. II. 4 gli ama più cerchar tal trame. 12 l'homo maligno.

2. Wolf and Lamb.

I. Partîssi il lupo del prato e l'agnelo
Per trovar l'aqua, no per un sentero,
E zaschadun per gran sete lezero
Corse ala ripa d'um bel fimecello.
Beveva il lupo de sopra da quello,
E disse a luy, cum malvaxio pensiero:
"Tu me turbidi l'aqua, e per lo vero,
Ne poteristi portar grave flagello."
L'agnello com el vero si scuxava:
"Vero nonnè che'l fiume sia turbato,
Tu mi minaci." Il lupo ancor cridava:
"Cossî mi fe tuo padre, falso nato,
Non fa sey mexi." E cossî il devorava,
Colpando luy del injusto peccato.
D'offendre al justo, il falso trova l'arte,
E questi lupi regna in ogni parte.

II. Or vedi il lupo, che senza caxone
L'agnello divorò cum falso frodo.
Cossî il demonio trova l'arte e'l modo
Di tuorce l'arme cum temptatione.
Cossî nel mundo le false persone
D'offendre il justo sempre trova il nodo,
Nè si ricorda del afito chiodo,
Nè del nostro Segnor la pasione.
Disse San Daniel: Tu condennasti
Sangue innocente, or torna al tuo judicio.
El justo è confirmato per psalmista,
Però vi prego voltate la vista
Al fonte sancto, dove vi lavasti,
Sî che tornati al sumo beneficio.

Var. II. 4 tuorne l'alme.

3. Rat, Frog, and Kite.

I. Il toppo non possando far sua via
Per l'oprobrio del laco che lì giace,
Veneli contra la rana loquace,
Mostrando ver de lui la cera pia,
E proferisse cum lingua polia
De condurlo oltra, et a quel molto piace.
E quela falsa di mal far sagace
Un filo a pedi lor forte mettia.
La rana falsa, quando fo nel mezo,
Rupe sua fede per condurlo a morte,
Unde convene che venisse a pezo;
Ch'el toppo, aiutandosi cum volte et storte,
Dal nebio foron prexi doivo erezo
Ch'ensieme sofrise amara sorte.
Cossì perissa chi falsa il servire,
E per l'ingano pena soferire.

II. Colui che may no dorme per far male,
E per condurci al infernale hostello,
Fa l'uomo desliale falso e fello
Per condenar coluy ch'è più liale.
Quando ambiduy son in pecca mortale
E copulati del suo capistrello,
L' inganato si chiama miserello,
Aitar si vuole ma nulla gli vale.
Però non creder al uomo cativo
Che facto rana tuopo no ti facia,
Chè l'un per l'altro male se nutricha.
San Gieronimo dice: Chi più abraza
Una cossa gli mancha dond'è privo,
Ch'el non ci è huomo che vero gli dica.
Prova l'amico novo, e poi te fida,
S'egli è lial, tien quello per tua guida.

MS. II. 15-16 *lacking.*

Var. I. 2 lo obstacol. 4 facia pia. 8 al pie di quel forte ponia. 11 ne *for* che. 12 Il toppo aitar se vol con volte storte. 13 Ma dal; doudio creggio. 14 Che sostenero insieme. 16 E possa ad ingannar.

Var. II. 7 mischinello. 9 Però fa che non credi. 11 assai mal. 14 Che verun huom non gliè.

4. Dog and Sheep.

I.

La pegora constreta per lo cane
Davanti il podestà dove comparse.
Comandògli che se debia acordarse
O che gli renda lo promiso pane.
Quella negando le domande vane,
Il *nibio*, l'avoltore e'l lupo parse,
Et in favor dal can testificarse
Come l'agnel promise la dimane.
Di raxon non gli de'render a quello,
El podestà pur vuol ch'ela il contenti,
Unde conven che venda il propio vello.
Cossì conven che sostegna tormenti,
E del inverno l'aspero flagello,
E fuor d'ogni pietà li fredi venti.
Cossì per lo falsario se perisse,
E dolse la pietà che ciò sofrisse.

II.

Per la temptation del inimico
Si muove l'uomo contra la raxone,
Talor movendo false questione
E falso prova per alcun amico.
Cossì la fede prexia men d'un fico
Pur che spoliar possa l'altra maxone,
E mendicando fa gir le persone,
E grami son se gli riman un spicho.
Non esser milvo, lupo nè avoltore,
Non esser cane a dimandar ingiusto,
Non esser nel mal far ubiditore;
Ben che pietate si doglia del justo,
Per che un pocheto tardi il Criatore,
Subito calla il suo pesente fusto.
Se mai per caso fussi a dar sentenza,
Mira que testimonii à tua presenza.

MS. I. 6 inbio; *II.*, 12 be.

Var. I. 2 podestate humil. 3 Qual (*first word*). 4 prestato pane. 13 il gelido flagello.

Var. II. 9 nibio *for* milvo. 14 potente fusto.

5. Dog and Shadow.

I. Passando il cane supra per un ponte,
Portava in bocha un gran pezo di carne,
Pensando ben di ley sua voglia farne.
Guardò nel aqua del chiarito fonte
E vide l'ombra cum tropo più zonte,
Che mostrava nel aqua zù più carne.
E quel sperando aver più da manzarne
Lasciò quella che avea di propia sponte,
Unde cade nel aqua zù nel fondo.
Poy drietro si zitò per aver quella,
La qual esser paria di mazor pondo,
E perse la speranza vana e fella,
E la propria rimaxe nel profondo.
Cossì falsa speranza ne martella.
No lassar my lo certo per l'incerto,
Senno che del tuo proprio fie diserto.

II. Ecoti il can portar la carne in bocha,
E giù nel aqua lasiarla cadere,
Sperando magior pezo reavere,
Poy drieto si zitò e nulla tocha.
Cossì travien a vuy quando s'imbrocha
Gli animi a questo mondo con piacere
Togliandosi giù del divin volere,
Al pezo di pecati ogniun s'invocha.
Or credi tu aver parte del mondo
E lasiato ay la divina sustanza,
E'l mondo tuto ti ritrovi in zanza.
Adoncha lasscia la mondana usanza
E ritornati al primo justo pondo,
Ch'el non trabuchi la justa bilanza.

Var. II. 10 E posseder la. 11 Tenendo quel che te retiene in zanze.

6. The Lion's Share.

I. Per engualimente seguir la fortuna
Feçe compagnia la manza e lione,
La pegora e la capra in tal casone
Ch' el se partisse la caza comuna.
Un cervo mosse, dunde zascaduna
Di queste fiere ala promissione
Segondo l'esser dele sue persone
Drieto li corse e a morte il rauna.
"Io serò herede dela prima parte,
Disse il leone, per lo primo honore,
E la secunda mi deffende Marte,
Concedimi la terza il gram labore,
La quarta voglio, se no ch' el se parte
El nostro amore." E cossì fo signore.
Però questa scriptura no consente
Ch' el s'acompagne il tristo col possente.

II. Non è fermeza in la gran segnoria,
Nè in homo richo de posanza grande,
Nè per sua vogla in grande gloria scande.
Però sempre ti servon di boxia,
E sempre dice: "Come io dico, fia."
Cum minazce or cum parole blande,
Beuto quello che cotal girlande
Schiva de firgli dicto cossì sia.
Doncha schivate le mondane zoglie,
Ch'el mondo vi promete e no v'atende.
Più cum fece il lion a soy compagni.
Chi serve a Dio non bisogna se lagni;
Quest'è coluy c'ogni promessa atende,
Però zaschun di cuor faza sue voglie.

Var I. 3 a tal stagione. 8 e denli morte bruna.

7. Thief and Sun.

I. Maridòsse la dona cun un ladro,
Alegrasse la zente come sole.
Un savio huomo mosse tal parole:
"Il sole essendo zovene e lizadro,
Tolse mugliere nel suo proprio quadro,
Unde la terra molto se ne dolle.
A Jupiter lamentòssi del solle:
'Or vede, signor mio, che io mi disquadro;
Per un sol sole son distructa e morta,
Or duncha què farò s'un altro nasse?
Come sofrir potrò pena si forta?'
Cossì convien che gli animi s'abasse
De dare al cativo homo lieta scorta,
Chè male ariva chi el cativo passe.
Che non securi la raxon protesta,
Qui che an mal facto e del mal far s'apresta."

II. L'uomo cativo di mal far non cessa,
Come fa l'onda al mar, dixe Ysaya,
Nè mala mente non à pace pia.
Prospero qui, ma de mal far opressa,
Coluy che sempre persevera ad essa,
Despresiando la divina via,
Per nuy conven che desprexiato sia,
Ogni sostegno e gracia a luy dimessa.
Non si convien dar moglier a costui,
Per che la terra più ch'el sol scota,
Nè alegreza farne qui tra nuy.
Or zaschaun lector qui faza nota
Che quel ch' è uso a rapinar l'altruy
Non so se possa far mente divota,
Sì como il nostro buon doctore insegna,
Lassiate tal persona com'è diegna.

Var. I. 6 Volse tuor moglie. 11 A tal pena soffrir son male accorta. 15 Chi non soccorre a chi ragion si presta. 16 far non resta.
Var. II. 3 E mai la mente. 4 Prospera sì, ma dal mal far è oppressa. 10 Dil qual la mala vita se dinota.

8. Wolf and Crane.

I.

Manzando il lupo la carne per freza,
Intròġli un osso nela streta gola.
Apena proferando la parola,
Per retrovar un medico s'adrieza,
Prometendogli doni d'alegreza
Come una voce di pietate mola.
La grua in questo com esso s'anola
E l'osso gli cavò cum sua destreza.
La sua proferta la grua domanda.
Rispoxe il lupo: "Per me sei secura
Dela tua vita che perigolava.
Non possemo cum la mia dentadura
Tagiarti il collo? Doncha non ti grava
A cognoser da mi la via fatura."
Al perfido servir perder si trova,
Che sempre scognosente esser si prova.

II.

Or vede il lupo aver in gola l'osso
Et esser liberato per la gruda,
Et ogni sua faticha aver perduda,
Et oltra ciò cridalgli il lupo adosso
Come tenuta la gruda gli fosso
Quasi che a vita l'avesse tenuda.
Or quivi vostra fede ti saluda,
Che dal servire may non sie remosso;
Se l'uomo rio el servixio no agrada,
Lasial portare l'animo protervo,
Chè Dio a te farà larga l'entrada.
Dice San Paulo: Io me feci servo
Libero siando per trovar la preda,
La dove più guadagno mi riservo.
Se tu perdi el servir del uomo rio,
Troppo mazor è la gracia de Dio.

Var. I. 6 Con; vola *for* mola. 7 La grua tal voce odendo, laqual sola. 9 La grua poi la promessa. 13 Troncharti. 14 via secura. 15-16 Al perfido servir noce e non giova, E chi gli serve pocha gratia trova.

Var. II. 5-6 Come se con ragione fosse mosso, E come quella gli fosse tenuda. 9 Se a l'homo. 13 trovar la strada.

9. Two Bitches.

I. Una cagnola qual era de parte
Cum sue losenge l'altra cagna prega,
E cum dolce parole si la prega
Che del suo proprio tecto se departe.
La pregna stete e l'altra via se parte,
Dal prego facta mata, lordā e cega,
E mendicando soa vita desprega
Tanto ch'en parturi quel altra parte.
Domanda il tecto suo la bona cagna,
L'altra le 'rechie chiude e si la cassa,
E si di minazarla non sparagna.
E per lo figiolo suo convien che taza
Per che la madre sta più ferma e stagna,
Unde si parte e l'altra ce rimaxa.
Non è fermeza in le dolce parole,
Che mal e danno d'esse sevir sole.

II. Vedi che per losinghe sta di fuore
La bona cagna, scaciata dil tecto,
L'altra gli latra col figlio a dispeto,
E partir si conven cum bruti honori.
Però convene che gli humani cuori
Si guardi per luxenge aver diffeto,
E non lasciare il suo continuo leto
Di penitenza per alcun furore.
Cossì giamay non ti lasciar scaciare
Al enemico fuor de bona fede
Cum sue loxenge sicome suol fare,
Sta pur constante a quel che fermo sede
Che qual si lacia al inimico uçelare,
A caxa non ritorna quando crede;
Or sta constante e troveray mercede.

Var. I. 6 fatta stolta e ciegha. 10 la scaccia. 14 E quella se ne andò come una paccia. 16 seguir.

Var. II. 10 Da lo. 15-16 Al lusenghier non dare troppo fede, Solo a Jesu se voi trovar mercede.

10. Man and Ungrateful Serpent.

I. La neve sbianchezando per la terra
Come gran fredo congelando l'aque,
Un gelato serpente molto piaque
Al pover homo, che nel grenbio il serra,
Ad un gran fuocho scaldarlo non erra.
E come fo scaldato, d'esso naque
Un perfido venim, dove despiaque
Al poverel veder guastar sua serra;
Unde ghe disse: "Va senza ritorno!"
E quello obprobrio non vuol ch'el discaza,
Movendo crudel si voli dintorno
E drito ver di lui drizò sua faza,
Voglando dar a quel pessimo zorno,
Venim zitando luy strenze et abraza.
Sempre il mal huomo rende mal per *bene*,
Per pietà ingano, e per lo fructo pene.

II. Tu vedi l'uomo portar il serpente,
E la neve la terra sbianchezando,
Per che ghiaziato si stava tremando
A casa s'il portò subitamente.
Or el vidi zitar venim dolente,
La casa dil bon huomo atoxicando,
Nè partir non si vuol per suo comando.
Cossì ti fa l'inimico veramente,
Tu vidi il mondo biancho, chiaro e bello,
Vedi il serpente, zioè mortal pecato,
Nel cuori il porti e li si face hostello.
Quando da luy vogli fir liberato,
E luy t'abraza, tristo miserello,
Nè si ligieramente vien scaciato.
Però non nutricar li peccati,
Sì che da loro siamo liberati.

MS. 15 mal per male.

Var. I. 10 E quel serpente non vol lo discacia. 11 sibili. 15 bene (*last word*).

Var. II. 13 mischinello. 14 lievemente.

11. Boar and Ass.

I. Coon mato riso el misero asinello
Tastò il porcho cengiaro e si se misse
Enver del forte quel cativo ardisse
Dir: "Dio ti salvi, caro mio fratello."
Squasuò el capo il porcho e zà per ello
Non si curlò, ma forte superbisse
E pocho standovi de luy si disse:
"Desprexia la vil escha il dente bello.
Non so come se tegna mia fereza
Che non ti squarci tuta la tua pelle,
Ma sicuro ti fa la tua mateza."
Però mato è coluy qual cum novelle
Va simulando e no porta chiareza
Davanti a zintil homo suoe loquelle.
Non si fa al mato temptar il poeta,
Nè zir trepando a luy cum voglia lieta.

II. L'uomo ch'à troppo zanze e troppo beffe
E si dileta d'ucelare altruy,
Costui non è cognoscente de luy
Nè s'avede che zò no monta un effe.
L'uomo discreto che non vuol caleffe
E che vorebe viver cum nuy,
Più no possando minaza coluy
Che se più zanza di menar le zeffe.
Parola recresievola fa injuria,
Dice qui Dionixio nil suo testo,
Corumpando costumi mal auguria.
Però questo ti dico e ti protesto
Che tu ti guardi da commover a furia
Coluy che tuto regie a fermo sexto.
Adoncha nota questo:
"Giocha quanto ti piace come fanti,
Dic'el proverbio, e lascia star i sancti."

Var. I. 5-6 Conquassò il capo il porcho, nè per ello Pur si crolò. *Var. II.* 4 tutto ciò. 6 viver ben fra noi. 10 chiaro testo. 15 Tu dunque.

12. Town Mouse and Country Mouse.

I.

Con chiaro volto il topo dala villa
Invitò secho il citadino rato,
Col picol mensa ma no men difato
Dal nobel fronte lor cibi sintilla.
El citadino al rustico se humilia
E dise: "Fratel mio, quest' altro trato
Convien che vegni mecho dove ò fato
La vita mia, et ancor lì tranquilla."
Menòlo nel celato dove carne
Prexe manzare. Intanto il canevaro
Zonse, donde zaschun prexe a scampare.
Il rustico parlò cum gusto amaro:
"Nanci voglio la fava rosegare,
Che di tal pena senpre dubitare."
La povertade è richa se vien lieta;
Dove timenza alberga, non çè meta.

II.

Monstrati anchora il sorzeto vilano
Farsi cortexe et invitar comesso,
Con nobel fronte e con bel dir apresso,
Per condur ala villa il topo urbano;
I soy cibi lucean dal viso humano.
El citadino rato sieco adesso
El rustico menò donde dicesso
Fu per la tema del sconder sotano.
Cossì il justo invita il peccatore,
Com esso luy e mostragli la fede,
Per trarlo fuore da mortal errore.
Possa l'injusto cui nemico lede,
Invita il justo e mostragli il terrore,
Onde si scampa e pi cum luy non sede.
Meglio è goder il pocho ch'il ben cerno,
Che la richeza spetando l'inferno.

Var. I. 8 che anchor è asai tranquilla. 14 Che star in cotal pena, fratel caro.

Var. II. 2 e mandar un suo messo. 5 Da gli soi cibi e da.

13. Eagle and Fox.

I. L'aquila per dar cibo a lor figlioli
Portò nel nido i figli dela volpe.
Quella studendo par che si dispolpi,
Pregando ley come anguosioxi duoli:
"Aquila che pietoxa eser tu suoli,
Dey! rendi a me quelle mie propie polpe,
Che sul arbaro tieni senza colpe.
Pregoti ch'al mio prego tu ti muli."
L'aquilla nega la giusta dimanda,
Unde la volpe l'alboro cerconda
Di legna e frasce, tuto nel girlanda.
Poy caço fuoco in çascaduna sponda,
E tanto fumme agli aquiloti manda
Che i figli scosse, dove fu jocunda.
Non voglia ofendre il mazor al menore,
Chè ben può ofendre il minor al mazore.

II. L'aquila tolse ala volpe lor figli
E portòsegli suxo nel suo nido.
La volpe udendo di figlioli il strido
Convien che a rescatarli si sotigli.
L'alboro cerconda de vimine e stigli
E fuoco gli caço senza disfido.
L'aquila per schivar di figli el crido
I suoy gli resse con cruciati pigli.
Eccoti Idio! per nuy *deliberarni*
Mandò il figliolo al aquila superba,
A quel nemico che volea disfarni.
Eccoti il fumme, ecco la pena acerba
Che sostene l'inferno a relasiarni,
No sperando çamay gustar tal erba.
Cristo portò la pena di peccati
Nostri, donde siamo liberati.

MS. II. 9 deliberami.
Var. I. 1 a soi. 3 stridendo. 8 amoli.
Var. II. 8 con gli proprii artigli. 11 Cioè *for* A. 15-16 portò per gli nostri peccati Morte crudel per cui siam.

14. Eagle and Tortoise.

I. L'aquila mossa dela vaga cima
Prese nel prato la bissa squara,
E quella cum la concha se repara,
Che dal becho aquilin non se delima.
E la cornice cum sagace lima
L'aquila castigando disse: "Empara
A spandre il cibo che da te s'apara
Quale nutriente a far lucida pima,
S'ela cadesse di somo altitudine,
Ruperiase la concha che la serra,
Sì che manzar poresti la testudene."
L'aquila il fe, donde sopra la terra
Sparse tuta quela dulcitudine,
Qual subito per se la grola aferra.
La savia lingua e falsa molto offende,
Ch'el forte per inzegno liga e prende.

II. Se tu ben guardi qui, l'aquila prexe
Una bissa squara nel bel prato,
E si coperta tien per ogni lato
Che dal becho aquilim si fa difexe.
Ancora vedi le false contexe
Che la grola gli mostra per suo grato,
Per aver quello che s'a ymaginato,
Gli mostra il modo a portarla suspexe.
Cossi stimando il buon in penetença,
Gli corre subito el pecato adosso,
Quel si diffende per la soferença.
Dic'el dimonio: "Convien che comosso
Fia costui via dala ubidiença,
E da più grave temptation percosso."
Com'el se parte da servir a Dio,
Cossì s'el porta l'enemico rio.

Var. I. 7 Spargier quel cibo. 15 la lingua astuta.
Var. II. 9 stando *for* stimando. 10 va *for* corre. 12 remosso.

15. Fox and Crow.

I. Trovo nel libro del maestro mio
Che la volpe afamata pasturando
Un corvo vide, che un caxo portando
In becho andava. Donde gli andò drio,
E quela a luy col suo parlar pio:
"Tu che sul arbor ti vay diportando,
Cotanto adorno e bello e vagezando,
E sopra ogni altro uzello biancho e polio,
Tu mi somigli al cigno di parazo.
Se del tuo canto sol fosse contenta,
Certo tu vinci tuti d'avantazo."
El mato a grolezar si spromenta,
Unde di becho gli cade il formazo;
La volpe il prexe, donde il corvo stenta.
La vanagloria ti mostra dolçeza
Che vergogna ti rende e gran tristeza.

II. Quando la volpe pasturando andava,
Sul alboro si stava il corvo etaxo,
E vide il corvo che portava il caxo.
Che cantasse luy amaistrava,
E quella tuta volta il loxengava
Per poner il formazo nel suo vaxo.
Coluy credendo al judayco baxo,
A cantar prexe e'l formaio lasciava.
Cossì ti fa il doloroxo baxo mondo
Che ti porze richeza e tu la porti,
E non ricorda di pecati il pondo.
I quali sempre guarda e stan acorti
A condurti di povertate al fondo.
Cossì dal enimico siamo scorti,
Che sempre ci conforta a falsi canti
Per condur l'anima a doloroxi pianti.

MS. II. As partially indicated by letters in the margin, the manuscript order is involved, the lines running 1, 2, 4, 7, 3, 5, 6, 9, 8, 11, 10. *The order followed is that of the* 1479 *edition.*

Var. I. 12 1497 a gloriar si se exprimenta; 1483 agrolizar.

Var. II 2 corvo adaso. 4 Per che di bel cantar lo amaistrava. 9 fa sto dolloroso mondo. 16 Per menar.

16. Old Lion Sick.

I. Per la vechieza il posente lione
Indormentòsi suoi membri possenti,
E per lo fredo persse i sentimenti,
Nè se può mover per nulla raxone.
Unde il ciengiaro, per vechia questione,
Una gran piaga gli fe cum sui denti,
Et anche il toro cum corni ponzenti
Luy perforò per ambeduy galoni.
Rietro costoro il misero asinello,
Zetando calci cum fera tempesta,
Nel fronte del lion fece sagiello.
Unde el lion come occupata testa
Disse: "Multi ò scampati da flagiello
Che nela mia misera mi molesta."
Tema quel caso quel che no à amico,
Chè pochi aïd'à colui ch'è mendico.

II. Quando meglio ti segue la fortuna
E che più fermo sula rota sedi,
Si com'el mare subito tu cedi,
Poy riman bassa d'aqua tua laguna.
Tulio non solo la vista fa bruna,
Fortuna e chi la segue cossì vedi,
Tu medesimo non senti se ti ledi,
Nè se tuo amico fia persona alguna.
Vien il dimonio e forate le coste
Cun le corne per lo mortal pecato,
E justicia ti squarza l'altra poste.
De pecati nel fronte sugielato
Seray; non ti varà dire: "Zà hoste
Fui, e servi, ed or sum flagielato."
Che tu servivi al mondo miserello,
Però di calci ti da l'asinello.

Var. I. 16 Chè puocho adjuto ha quel che vien mendico.

Var. II. *After line* 16 *are two lines of Latin translated:* Non è senza gran colpa ad impazarte De quel che non te tocha e n'è tua arte.

17. Ass and Lap-dog.

I. E come alegreza un cucolin zentile
Vagò trepando com el suo signore,
Mostravagli il signor perfecto amore,
Di dolci cibi e vivande sotile.
Questo vezando l'aseneto vile.
Disse: "Per scrici costui sie mazore
Di me, chi me fatico cum dolore;
Forsi s'io ziocho, granderò mio stile."
E rito si levò forte ragiando,
I pedi alçadi sule spalle posse
Al suo signor, che se levò cridando.
Unde i famigli sentando tal cosse
Cum grave *maze* luy zi va batando,
Facendo luy sentir pene dogliose.
A forzar la natura non è licito,
E spiace il mato nel piacer solicito.

II. Giugava col signore il cuzolino,
E l'asino si gli vuol simigliare,
E col signore se mise a trepare,
Credendosi più bel d'um armerino.
I fanti quando vide tal distino
L'asino forte prexe a bastonare,
E cum gran bote via da luy scaciare,
E cossì gli respoxe a suo latino.
Cossì è l'uomo che vive in virtute
E serve a Dio e cum solaza,
Che com'el cuzolim gli da salute.
Eccot'il vicio ch'el buon homo abraza,
Cioè l'asino cum voce disolute,
E quel atento da se il cride scaza,
Poy di virtute viene i fidel servi
C'al vicio rompe ossa, polpe e nervi.

MS. I. 13 mze.
Var. I. 1 cagnolin. 6 scherci. 13 macie.
Var. II. 1 cagnolino. 3 se puose. 5 Gli servi. 10 con buona efficacia. 11 al cagnolin.

18. Lion and Mouse.

I. La freda silva un zorno loxengava
El sopito lion che dentro jace,
Intanto zonse un ratolin sagace,
Ch'entorno del lion prompto zugava.
El lion il prese cum sua brancha prava,
E'l toppo disse: "O possanza tenace,
Misericordia ti domando e pace."
Dal prego mosso, il lion luy lassava
E disse: "Al vincitore è tanta gloria
Quant'è la possa di quel che perdente,
Sì che vincer costuy no m'è memoria."
Cade nel rete quel lion posente,
Possa dal topo ebi la victoria,
Ch'el fune roxego col fero dente.
Tu chey possente sempre fui al picolo,
Che scanpar ti poria de gran pericolo.

II. Qui vi figura il doctor molto bene
Che la gloria del vincitore è tanta
Quanto la possa del vinto s'amanta,
Ch'al più possente vincer si convene.
Ma quando vince un tristo, questo vene
Che vile ystoria poy di luy si canta.
Al pizol fa gracia larga e spanta,
Per che giovar ti può nele tue pene.
Per servir no si perde, anci s'aquista,
Dice Ysaya sovente al enfermo.
Retien la furia tuta, dic'el psalmista,
Da carità procede, e lì sta fermo,
El gracioso dono a Dio fa vista,
E contra l'inimico gli fa scermo.
Però zaschun s'alista
Di sovenir i tristi povereti,
E Idio ve guardarà da mal deffecti.

MS. II. Has lines 12 *and* 13 *in reverse order, not according to the metrical scheme.*

Var. II. 3 s'avanta. 7 larga e sancta. 15 insista.

19. Young Kite Sick.

I. El nebio infermo pregava la madre
Che Dio pregasse cuz benigno effecto,
Che liberasse luy dal crudel leto,
Offerendo per luy done liçadre.
La madre a luy: "Col tuo vicio disquadre
L'animo a Dio, per tuo grave diffeto,
Usando la rapina per dileto
Cum falsi inzigni e cum parole ladre,
Possa che turbato ay li nostri dei,
Voglion egli che tu porti la pena
Del pecato dove tu degno sey.
Prima che tu cadesti in tal catena
Pensar dovevi *nelli* acessi rey,
Che come umilità cossì ti mena."
Però chi fa sua vita nei pecati,
Non abia fede de star nei beati.

II. Fin che l'uomo sta fermo in sua bontade,
Ardito, forte, giovene, possente,
El non si pensa may nela sua mente
Che gli possa venire adversitade.
Dixpresia Dio e la sua maiestade,
Uxando ingani e robando la zente,
E sempre nel mal far è soferente,
Fina che Dio gli tuol prosperitade.
Possa si torna a sancta madre chiexia,
Pregando ley che de tanti diffeti
El cavi, e contra Dio faza difexa.
E quela dice: "Per gli tuoy dispeti,
Dio vuol che vadi rito ala distexa,
Dove si purga i mondani dileti."
Però fin che tu vivi in questo mondo,
Fa che salvar ti possi dal profundo.

MS. I. 13 nlli.

Var. I. 2 con benigno. 4 cose ligiadre. 13 excessi. 14 Humilità non è che hora ti mena.

20. Swallow and Birds.

I. La terra nudrigando la somenza
Del lino per che lino dinasesse,
La rondinella a consiglio si messe
Cum gli altri ucelli, alegando sentenza:
"Se a questo non faciamo providenza,
Morte siamo se quel lino cresce."
Ucel non fo che non si ne ridesse,
Isprexiando sua chiara eloquenza.
El lino cressce e fa l'erbeta bella,
La rondinella ancor consiglia queli
Contra el pericolo, e lor ridem de quella.
Per lo qual cossa se partì da elgli,
A l'uomo s'acordò cum sua loquella,
Unde nel rete cade i altri uceli.
Chi lassa il buon consiglio per lo rio,
Cade nel rete quant'è più scaltrio.

II. Se alguno cum buon modo a te verà,
Entendi bene e pensati ben sù,
Se il suo consiglio ti rende salu,
Ancora pensa che seguir porrà.
Posa faray quel che te ne parrà,
Nè disprexiar il buon consiglio tu,
Velox ad audiendum sie tu più.
Jacobo dice: El parlar tarderà.
E se per caso tu consigliti,
E tu cognosi il perigol che c'è,
E creduto non fia come tu di,
Senza voglierli dir più, cossì fe,
Fati rondena e tuote via de lì,
E digli "Mal volete!" E cossì ste.
Prendi'l consiglio de servir a De,
E non curar del mondo iniquo e re.

Var I. 11 Contra il suo male.
Var. II. 7 sie ogn' hor. 14 E così habie.

21a. Citizens of Athens.

I. Attene cività chiexe signore
Per aver de justicia nove seze,
E la sua libertà propria dileze,
Credondosi per questo fir mazore.
Ecco multiplicar il suo dolore,
E rinovar statuti e nove leze,
Poner il giovo nele humane greze,
E qual potea schivar senza rimore.
El signor cominzò statuti novi
Dilacerando qui chi era colpevoli,
E tuto'l primo stato par che rimovi.
I citadini, qual eram uxevoli,
Di far sua voglia e vincer le lor prove,
Convien che stea sozeti e raxonevoli.
Exopo vide la terra dolente,
E muove per exempio lo dir seguente.

II. O cività dolente! o falso hostello!
O di malicia pregna in ogni calle,
Piena di tradimenti in monti e valle,
Che mo ti segnoreza Lucibello!
O mondo injusto! mondo topinello!
Dio te fe francho, e volte gli ai le spalle!
Non vede tu ch'el domonio t'arsalle,
Se Dio non pensa remedio novello?
Atennea chenne prima fusti francha,
E volisti tirarti a tirania,
Che mutando costumi ti fa stancha,
O vuy che disiderate signoria,
Pensateve quando sedete in bancha
Que risposta può aver l'anbasaria,
La verzene Maria
Faza prego al suo figlio, se gli piace,
Che tra nuy mande sua perfecta pace.

Var. I. 8 Il che potea schiffar senza dolore. 11 E tuto quel stado par che rinovi.

Var. II. 5 injusto, tristo e tapinello. 7 non porgie. 16 figliol benigno. *After the fable is a Latin couplet headed* Seneca, *translated:* Justicia ferma la sua signoria, Se con clementia temperata sia.

21b. Frogs Desiring King.

I. Supplicòsse le rane al sumo Jove,
Che gli desse segnor, che non n'avea,
E luy del vano prego se ridea,
Ma pur si mosse ale domande nove.
Un ligno grande fa che d'alto piove,
E nel laco percosse, unde façea
Le rane tute. Ma quando vedea
El suo signore che niente si muove,
A Jupiter tornò subitamente.
El qual, comosso subìto per ira,
Mandògli un ydro, perfido serpente.
Coluy le ucide, coluy a se le tira,
Unde mercè dimanda humelmente
A Jupiter, ch'el mondo volze e zira.
Sia lieto quelo c'à'l debito suo;
Non esser d'altri, se poy esser tuo.

II. Vedi le rane supplicar a Dio
Che non gli lasse star senza segnore,
E luy ridendo de cotal errore
Mandògli un travo che sta quieto e pio.
Ben che temesse del cadel che fio,
Ancor tornò a dimandar priore.
Idio comosso ad ira cum furore,
Un serpe gli mandò, mortal e rio.
Prima concesse Dio la libertade,
E poy, vegiando nuy pigliar ria parte,
Mandò il figliolo pien di humilitade,
E nuy segundo pur in pezo l'arte,
Mandò il demonio, pien de crudelitade,
Che nuy devora e liga cum suo sarte.
Possa voglan tornar a dir mercede
Quando serrati sciamo nele rede.

Var. I. 6 E nel luoco percosse ove stasea.

22. Doves, Kite and Hawk.

I. Dice il maestro che una grande guerra
Era tra'l nebio e le colunbe bianche,
Et eram per l'asedio tanto stanche
Che quasi per padura si soterra.
E per suo scampo al sparavier s'aferra,
Per che di capitaneo stava manche.
Tenendosi per luy libere e franche,
Libero albitrio gli dona e diserra.
Mangiava il sparaver i lor pizoni,
Unde le madre querondi lor nati,
Dispersi fuori per le lor maxoni,
Tra lor dicendo: "Melius bella pati
Era che morir senza questioni,
Che più siamo dal re dampnizati."
Se tu fay cossa alguna, gurda'l fine
A ciò ch'en le più grave non ruyne.

II. Faceano guerra il nibio e le columbe,
Cossì cum povertà faciamo nuy,
E per paura degli morsi suoy
Al sparavier se diamo cum le fombe.
Ciò al pecato per schivar lor gronbe,
Corre il peccato e'l dimonio cum luy
De l'alme nostre, lasiandoci nuy,
Divorando le vano a false trombe.
Per la roba vogliamo perder l'alme,
Robando, rapinando, e dando a usura,
Nè Dio curamo, nè sue sante psalme,
E quando Idio a zò trovava mensura,
Mercè queriamo, batendo le palme,
Ma no possiamo render la pastura.
L'enjuria de Dio e'l mal tolesto
Mostra che fazi al suo voler aspeto.

Var. II. 4 frombe. 5 Cioè. 8 Devorando le va con. 16 Vol che ne aspetti la vendetta presto.

23. Dog and Thief.

I. Una note per andar a furare
Si mosse un ladro, dond'el fero cane
Forte latrava, e quel gli porse un pane.
El cane alora cominciò a parlare:
"Qel cibo fello che me voy donare
Vuol ch'io consenti le tue voglie vane,
Le quale da mia mente son lontane,
Per che dal cibo mio mi cre scaciare.
Se non ti parti tosto, il can parlava,
Col mio latrar ti farò manifesto
Dal furto che far vuol tua mente prava."
E cossì il cane valoroso e presto
Il ladro com el crido discazava,
Faciando el gusto suo puro e modesto.
Gurda quel che recevi e quel che day,
E tu proprio glioton chastigheray.

II. El ladro per voler cometer male,
El cane dolcemente si loxinga
Che tacer debia e de dormir s'infinga.
Un pan gli porse, e'l can disse: "Che vale
I ladronici toy mostrar cotale,
Che vuol che dal mio cibo mi ristrenga?
Or tosto parti, o daròti la stringa,
E per lo mio latrar colpo mortale."
Cossì el enemico ti da tentacione,
Per trarti fuora del divino amore,
E che tu segui lor operacione.
Or doncha servi Dio, nostro Signore,
E come psalmi e buone oracione
Da te discacia il falso proditore.
E si liale al tuo mondan signore mazore,
Chè per la lialtà se aquista honore.

MS. II. 16 *lacking.*
Var. I. 8 mi vol. 16 gioton.
Var. II. 6 da questo cibo. 12 siegui Dio.

24. Wolf and Sow.

I. Parlava il lupo ad una porcha pregna:
"Comadre mia, in questa vostro parte
Mi proferischo de volerte aitarte,
E del tuo grezo aver cura benegna."
La porcha ver dil lupo si disdegna,
E disse: "A me non bixogna tua arte,
Nè il corpo mio. Lascia digno arte
De nutrir quiglie che dentro vi regna.
Or sta lontano a çiò che più secura
Parturir possa la mia vita cheta,
Che di tuo aito mia parte non cura."
Colluy se parte e quela stete lieta.
Per gli tuo figli comanda natura
Che tu temi i parenti senza meta.
Non creder tuto a tuti in ogni pacto,
Chi matamente crede è tenuto mato.

II. S'el vien alcun di cuy tu non ti fidi,
Mostrandosi d'aitarte al tuo bixogno,
Digli: "Amico mio, el non fa sogno
Per questa volta che tu te convidi."
Simelmente cum la porcha vidi
Verso dil lupo ridrizar el grogno,
Che sti lontano anchor gli da ranpogno,
Che più sicura possa far suo cridi.
Cossì coluy che sta in mortal pecato,
Se'l vene a te per voler consigliarti,
Quanto più tosto poy, dallo commiato,
Ch'el suo consiglio sempre è per disfarti
E tuorti dal amor de Dio beato.
Or guarda ben de lasciarti alazato.
Chi crede tutto ciò che l'ode dire,
Vergogna e danno gli convien seguire.

MS. I. 7 co *marked for omission before* mio.
II. 15-16 *lacking.*
Var. I. 7 Nè al corpo mio. 8 quelli.
Var. II. 3 mi par un sogno. 5 qual *for* cum. 11 dagli combiato. 14 ben che non lassi allaciarti.

25. Mountain in Travail.

I. Crescie la terra como un gran tumore,
E come un aspro son quel tumor gieme,
Raunòssi la zente tuti insieme
Temandosi di tanto rimore;
Ad arme corse cum grave furore
Come color ch'el forte caso tieme.
Ecco la terra dessa un topo preme,
E ritornò nel eser suo priore.
Tornò quela paura in alegreza,
Vegiando sì gran facto far sì puocho,
Che si mostrava di tamanta aspreza.
Così rimaxe quela giente in giocho,
Aliviate da quela fereza,
Che dimostrava uscir di cotal luocho,
Sovente men fa colui che più crida,
E pizol caso gran timenza guida.

II. Come la terra vene al tumor grande,
Cossì vien l'uomo grande in questo mondo,
Ogni or più cresse e fassi più facondo,
E'l nome suo per tuto'l mondo spande.
Per tema i citadini le arme prende,
Cioè di misiricordia el justo pondo.
Eccoti el tristo cader giù nel fondo,
Disgonfiarsi, nè pi timenza stando.
Homo che fay questo mondo tristo,
Sgonfiati di superbia e de pecati!
Nè ti ricorda de servir a Cristo,
Da te gli offexi reman liberati,
Quando tu schiopi de pecati misto,
E per mal fare cadi tra damnati,
Quanto hay fato è men d'un ratolino,
Et ay perduto il summo amor divino.

Var. I. 11 cotanto asprezza.
Var. II. 8 nè più temenza scande.

26. Lamb and Goat Mother.

I. Zugando cum le capre el biancho agnello,
Vene lì il lupo cum dolce parole,
E disse: "Figliol mio che tetar sole
El dolce lacte gracioso e bello,
Come poy sofrire in tanto fello
E putrido sentir di capre molle.
La madre tua, ch'è qui, di te si duolle,
Or vien tosto da ley dulci fratello."
Disse l'agnello: "La capra mi presta
Come mia madre dolcissimo lacte,
E cossì mi nutrisse e mi modesta,
Sì che le voglie mie nanci son fate
Con le capre de far mia vita honesta,
Che contentar la gola che te bate."
Non è cossa che avançi il buon consiglio,
Che per lo rio discende gran periglio.

II. Stiando l'agnello nel barco gregie,
Cioè nel gregio di sancti pastori,
Goldando l'uomo nei beati cori.
Eccoti il lupo cum parole sbiegie,
L'enimico ch'el barbato diliegie,
Per farti perder cossì duolci fiori.
Mostrandoti del mondo i vani honori,
A se ti chiama nele triste segie.
Ecco tua madre, ecco la ria speloncha,
Ecco il buon lacte, eccoti il fuocho eterno
Ch'el demonio ti vuol porgier. Adoncha
Segui l'agnello e fuzeray l'inferno.
Nela tua mente da Dio non si troncha,
E cossì goderay nel ben superno.

Var. II. 1 nel barbato greggie. 4 parole spreggie.

27. Old Dog and Master.

I. El cane armato di forte natura,
Lizero, forte, zovene e possente,
Dal suo signore amato fortemente,
Ulcidea molte fere ala verdura.
Secondo che ci reze la ventura,
Vechio diventa, donde perse i denti.
Un giorno prexe un lepore corrente,
Quel disarmato lasciò la pastura.
La furia dil signore bate il cane,
E luy rispoxe: "Fin ch'ebi l'etate
Fuorum ver me le fere tute vane."
Ciascadum è di tanta facultade
Quante le done ch'el fa cum sue mane,
Nè dura amor senza prosperitade.
Mal serve quel che serve l'uomo rio,
Chè perdonar non sa l'iniquo al pio.

II. El mondo è tanto al vicio sotomesso
Che non *cognosce* del bem la radice.
Boecio dice del stato felice:
Vuy mi giettasti però ch'è comesso,
Stabilita non era al grado opresso.
Cossì mi feza l'amico infelice.
Non ti meter il giovo, Paulo dice,
Con gli infidelli, perchè fie sopresso.
Chi chom el cativo homo si nutrica,
Dice Grigolo, convien che cativa
Sua vita facia, e com essa inimica.
Quando dal cane fo la forza priva,
Il suo signore gli tolse la spica;
Al cativo servir cossì s'ariva.
Doncha zaschadun che viva
Se guardi da servir l'enimico,
Per ch'el gli tolle dela gloria il spico.

MS. II. 2 cognsce.
Var. II. 4 mi privasti. 7 te poner al giovo.

28. Hares and Frogs.

I. Per lo gran vento la selva risona,
Le leproselle tute s'enfuga.
Gionte al palude quasi se mittia
Sottopozarsi, ma qui si consona
Che riguardando non vide persona,
Salvo che rane che se somergia,
Per la gran tema che di quelle avia,
Unde gli ritornò speranza bona.
Disse una d'esse: "Licito è sperare
Che nuy non sciamo ala timenza sole,
Le rane vezo per nuy dubitare."
La speranza è salute d'ogni prole,
E la timenza vicio da scaciare
A chi teme vergogna e vertù vole.
Però spera chi teme ch'el si vede
Di gran periglio tornar a mercede.

II. Quando fortuna sona, zascum fuze,
E per gran tema quando più si sconde,
Ma quando vede altruy in maior unde,
Confortasi e tanto non si struze.
Le leproselle cui timenza fruze
Vide rane timere per le fronde,
E tropo più di lor di tema sconde,
Unde per temma più no si distruze.
Cossì timendo la mortal sentenza,
Per vergogna de dir nostri deffecti,
Nuy si scondiamo dala penitenza,
Ma poy vegiando i tiribili effecti,
Sotopozarsi nela obidienza,
Alor dala paura siamo necti.
Non ti temer di tornarte a Dio,
Con più l'uomo à pecati, egli è più pio.

Var. I. 3 se ponia.

Var. II. 2 quanto pò se asconde. 6 le rane fugir. 7 de lor eran joconde. 12 li horribili effetti.

29. Wolf and Kid.

I. Querando il cibo la capra si mosse
Et al ovile il figlo recomanda,
Eccossì luy castica e gli comanda
Che non apra may l'usso per percosse,
Nè per luxinghe se alchun di fuor fosse,
Fin che non torna cum la sua vivanda.
Eccoti il lupo el diserar dimanda,
Voce di capra fa cum voce grosse.
"Fati lontano, il capreto gli disse,
Che d'esser capra mente tua loquella,
E per toy ingani molti ne perisse.
Che sie mia madre menti ala favella,
E te eser lupo le pariete scisse
Ti mostra, e no mia madre ni caprella."
Perfecta è la doctrina di parenti,
E chi la sprexia ni riman dolenti.

II. El vien a te amico over parente
El qual ti doni perfecto consiglio,
Amico mio, dagli tosto di piglio
E tiel serato fermo nela mente.
S'el ti bixogna subitanamente,
Uxa com esso com'al padre figlio,
Lieto ti troveray cum chiaro ciglio,
E tuoy nimici rimmara dolente.
Com'el capreto ubidì la soa madre,
Cossì debiamo ubedir fede nostra
Negli comandamenti de Dio padre.
Guarti dal enemico che ti mostra
Sì come lupo parole buxarde,
Sol per condurte al infernal giostra.
Or doncha fugi sua *giostra violente,*
Che le anime con lui stan mal contente.

MS. II. 15 violente giostra. 16 *lacking.*

Var. I. 3 così lo ammonisse. 7 lupo che ad aprir. 8 Parlar de capra. 9 Statti lontano.

Var. II. 4 E fermo tienlo stretto. 14 parole bugiadre. 15 giostra violente. *After line* 16 *comes a Latin couplet translated:* Non te diletti l'homo lusignero, Ma quel che ti correggie e dice il vero.

30. Peasant Who Strikes Snake.

I. Avea nutrito el vilan un serpente,
El serpe luy tenia per car amico.
Al vilan ritornò per inimico
El dito serpe subitanamente
E sul capo il ferì vilanamente.
E poy si fo pentito com'o dico,
Credendo per quel fallo esser mendico,
Perdon gli domandava humelmente.
Disse il serpente: "I non serò securo
Fin ch'el mio capo serà recordevole
Del colpo tuo cotanto aspero e duro.
Esser non voglio più *participevole*
Del animo disccognosente e scuro
Senza pietate e fuor de raxonevole.
Offender vuol anchor chi offende pria,
E'l don del rio venim credo che sia.

II. Quando tu servi algun di bona fe,
E nel bixogno tuo ti offenda po,
Un altra volta digli tu di no,
Com'el serpente al vilanazo fe.
Chè quando gli domandò poy mercè
Dela sua injuria, poy si ricordò
E disse: "Tu me feristi sul cho,
Sì che giamay mi fiderò di te."
Adamo et Eva il dimonio tradì,
Però non ti fidar giamay di lu,
Che vuolentieri inganarebe ti.
Servi a coluy che per nostra salu
Fo passionato, nè giamay mentì,
Sì che cum luy ti receva lasù.

MS. I. 12 participeule.

31. Stag and Sheep.

I. Un giorno il cervuo ala pegra dimanda,
Presente il lupo, un vaso di formento,
Che la gli renda. Il lupo incontenento
Subitamente gli dice e comanda.
La pecora, per la timanza granda,
Confessa contra suo proprio talento
Di far il cervo tuto contento,
Al termino che la sentencia manda.
Eccoti in breve ch'el termino passa,
Dimanda il cervuo la promisione;
La pecora rispoxe a voce bassa:
"La mia promessa non val di raxone,
Chè per non esser dela vita cassa,
Confessa fui tua falsa questione."
Pacto fato per tema val niente,
Nè fede à le parole del timente.

II. Non esser scarso giamai di parole
Quando tu poy scamparti la persona,
Fa ogni pacto cum parola bone
Pur che ti chiavi fuor di cotal scole.
Non val nè tene, questo raxon vole,
Pacto facto per tema, nè consona.
Ess'el promisso may di ciò raxona,
Digli cotal raxon uxar si suole.
Cossì il pechato più volte te chiede,
Presente l'enimico, l'uomo adello,
Per trarlo fuori de bona fede,
E cossì engana l'enimico fello.
Ma s'el non fosse la justa mercede,
Di nuy farebe più volte flagiello.
Però guardati ben da far tal pacti
Com el pecato, che tu no te inbrati.

Var. I. 3 lupo turbulento. 4 judica e comanda. 7 De far che el cervo ne resti contento.

Var. II. 7 Esser promisso.

32. Bald Man and Fly.

I. *Vogliando* il calvo la mosca ferire,
Si medesimo ferisse e quella ride.
El calvo quando ritornar la vide
Contra la mosca così prese a dire:
"Se io me ferischo, tu ride e mi mire,
E solo un colpo te abbatte e conquide;
Ferirme diece volte non me occide,
Per una volta te convien morire.
La gratia mia a mi sta sempre pronta,
E la tua trista, che è nocente e sorda,
Ben tosto fie da nulla, se fie gionta."
Quel che offender altrui sempre recorda,
Se lo offeso vol vendicar sua onta,
Non c'è qui conscientia che el rimorda,
Che ben pò fir offeso quel che offende,
E de picol cagion gram mal descende.

II. *Come la mosca el calvo quivi attenta,*
Così lo mondo attenta li cristiani,
Quanto più schiffa soi diletti vani,
Tanto più certo quelli li presenta.
Così penando la persona stenta
Hora presso te mostra, hora lontani,
Ferisse spesso con pensieri strani,
Nè mai salvo al peccato te contenta.
"Se io te ferisco pur una sol volta,
El calvo dice, non harai sofrenza,
Che ogni possantia da te non sia tolta."
Convien ferirse cun la penitenza,
La falsa moscha sì che sia dissolta
Da el peccatore per la obedienza.
A ciò che schivi la sententia grave,
Guardati da ferir con voglie prave.

MS. I. Initial V of Vogliando *omitted.* 3 *From this point to Part II., line* 3, *of the next fable, No.* 33, *the manuscript text is lost. The lacuna has been filled from the* 1479 *edition.*

33. Fox and Stork.

I.

La volpe invitò seco la cygogna
Falsariamente per darli da cena;
De sottil cibo la gran concha piena
Li presentò senza atto di menzogna.
La cycogna al mangiar par che si sogna,
Per che del cibo prender non pò apena,
Ma saviamente puo la volpe mena
A cena senza mostra de rampogna,
E disse: "Amica, perfette vivande
Habiamo a cena, andiamo ciascaduna."
Quella se mosse ale parole blande,
Mangiar potea la volpe ad una ad una
Le giozze che dal longo becho spande
Sopra el vaso del vetro, onde dejuna.
Quel che tu non voresti, a altrui non fare,
Nè piaga far che potresti portare.

II.

Collui ch'è offeso sempre se ricorda
E tutta volta pensa la vendetta,
E quando può ti la da tuta neta;
Però non dare al can che non ti morda.
De non tirare di tal vicio corda,
Lasciala stare come maledeta,
Tira la vista buona e benedeta,
Che dal servire may non si discorda.
Chi siegue ingano, prima offende Cristo,
E poscia si conturba si medesmo,
E del anima sua si trova tristo.
Conturba l'inganato ch'el batesmo
Biastema se a vendeta non fia visto,
E cossì perde l'alma el cristianesmo.
Non voler farti cicogna ni volpe;
Fa sì che rio pecato no t'incolpe!

MS. II. *Resumes with line* 3.
Var. II. 7 la justa, santa e benedetta.

34. Wolf and Bust.

I.

El lupo andando fuori per un campo
Ritrovò un capo ben fato per arte.
Quel com el piede el volze in ogni parte,
E guarda quanto è bello el dolce stampo,
Che quasi mostra aver dy vita stampo.
Unde parlò: "Più gientil contrafarte
Non ti potria maestro hedificarte,
Se solo avisti dela vita nampo,
Ma tu sey senza voce e senza mente,
Sì che niente vale tua beleza,
E capo sey adoncha da niente."
Cossì pertien al uomo aver destreza
Dal animo, del cuor, donde possente,
Savia e acorta fazia soa grandeza.
El nobel cuor extingue ogni diffeto,
E sol nel mondo è l'animo perfecto.

II.

Capo di pietra fato in forma humana
Trovò il lupo fuori in un bel prato.
Quelo col piede il vuolgie in ogni lato,
Bello gli parse ma una cossa vana.
Per che da sentimenti si lontana,
Nol chiama più esser capo beato.
Da luy si parte cossì sconsolato,
E'l capo lasa come cossa strana.
Cossì l'uomo tristo e doloroso,
Che in questo mondo come un zocho vive,
E tuto il tempo suo sta ocioso,
Nè may si trova che da luy dirive,
Salvo che lamentarsi estar pensoso,
Temando che luxura non si prive.
Nè a Dio nè al mondo cotal homo atende,
Se tu gli servi, par che tu l'offende.

Var. II. 2 capo d'huom fatto. 5 de vita scampo. 8 vita vanpo.
Var. II. *After line* 16 *is a Latin couplet translated:* Però che ogni servir servitio vole, Servi con fede a chi servir te sole.

35. Crow in Peacock Feathers.

I.

Vestisse el corvo d'una zentil piuma
D'un bel pavon, ch'el trovò nela via.
Costui s'adorna, costuy si polia,
E di superbia montò sula cima,
E di star fra pavoni fa sua stima,
E non si teme aver sua compagnia.
Quando di questo i pavon s'avedia,
Luy dispogliò, e luy bate e dilima,
"Chi trope vole, e il corvo alora parla,
El tuto lassa, e cade nel estreme,
Vogliendo la natura sua sforzarla.
El corpo mio, che nudo langue e gieme,
La vesta sua potria lieta portarla,
Là donde povertà ville me preme."
Coluy che lascia il suo per tuor l'altruy,
Ignorante di se disorta luy.

II.

El corvo è l'uomo al mondo baratero,
Che nel mondo percaza grandi officii,
E quand'è grande fa de molti assticii,
Rubando Polo, Martino e Si Piero.
E poy quando si vede bien altiero
E vestito digli altri beneficii,
Tra grandi va, nè teme malefici,
Tanto chi vien falito suo pensiero.
Sopra gli vien subito la fortuna,
Ch'el mena al fondo e tuto lo dispoglia,
E fagli il dì parer di note bruna.
Ay quanto è duro sofrir tal doglia!
Nè in questo mondo n'è persona alguna
De non pigliati azoglia..
Di voler tor l'altruy per algun modo,
Che tosto vien ch'el se desficha il chiodo.

Var. I. 1 bianca piuma. 16 deserta.

Before line 1 *is a Latin couplet translated:* Se tu voi far alcuna cosa grande, Mensura el tuo poder quanto si spande.

Var. II. 2 Che d'ognhora. 9 Da poi gli sopragionge la. 13 Imperciò che non è. 14 Che del suo male non ne pigli zoglia. 15 Deh! non tor tu lo altrui.

36. Mule and Fly.

I. La mula carcha dal pexo dolente
Dal mulater offexa piglia il corso.
La moscha minazando i da di morso,
E disse: "Dorme tuo piede corrente,
Curri liziera via subitamente.
Non sentime nemica del tuo dorso,
Che contra el ponzer mio non à socorso?"
La mula gli rispuoxe a mantinente:
"Per che tu suoni grande, mostrar vuoy
Che tu sie grande, ma di te non dubito,
Nè temo te nè le minace touoy.
Temo coluy che col suo grave cubito
Spesso mi bate nely accesi suoy,
E'l grave pondo ch'el mi poni subito."
Non teme il tristo al forte minazare,
Quando c'è tempo ch'egli il possa fare.

II. Se nel aversità recevi injuria,
Non temer li minace del dimonio,
Chè Dio sempre serà tuo tistimonio
A liberarti da sua mortal furia.
Tutora Dio il sofferente alturia,
Quando gli piace, il bate col suo conio.
Tute l'altre minace son insonio,
Tu solo timi Dio e la sua curia.
San Gieronimo dice ch'el fastidio
De l'inimicho sempre sta solicito
Per condur l'uomo al enfernal astidio.
Escempio dela mula te fia licito,
Che non teme dela moscha l'ensidio,
Ma teme il proprio suo signore hospicito.
Adoncha questo recogli felicito,
E tale exempio fa che te sia placito.

MS. II. 16 *lacking.*
Var. I. 16 Quando non teme che esso el possi fare.
Var. II. 15 racogli e state tacito.

37. Fly and Ant.

I. La mosca mosse lite ala formica;
"Trista che stay enele oscure cave,
E per fatica duri pene grave,
Et i'ò la nobel casa per amica,
E'l chiaro vin bever non mi faticha,
E tu t'afondi nele fece prave,
El baso dono ale golte soave
Dele regine per usanza anticha."
Ripose la formica: "I'vivo in pace
Nela mia cava, e tu sempre in rancura.
I fati tuoy a tuto el mondo spiace;
Bevando il vino vivi cum paura;
El falivello ti da bote penace,
E'l fredo inverno ti da morte dura."
Vien odio e pace segondo il contendere,
Chè odio e fede suol la lingua rendere.

II. Se la cativa lingua ti contende,
Serra le orechie e refrena *la alduta*,
Però che ogni resposta sie perdua,
E zò da vertù vien chi no gli atende.
Ma si discreta lingua ti riprende,
Quela come humeltate tu salua,
Per che vertute in ley è divolua,
Che scaza l'odio e la fede comprhende.
Prima vertute è constringere la lingua,
Dice Catone nel suo bel volume,
A zò che ogni mal dir da ley se stingua.
Lingua che nel mal dir prende costumme,
Dice San Sisto, è di malicia pregna,
Chè dal animo rio lingua fa lumme.
Or colglete le summe
De non seguir el vicio dela moscha,
E la formica per vuy se cognoscha.

MS. II. 2 *line ends with* refrena.

Var. I. 2 che jaci. 3 soffri. 7 ale guanze. 11 La tua natura a tutto. 13 botte tenace. 15-16 guerra *for* odio.

Var. II. 2 Chiudi le orechie. 13 malicia pingua.

38. Fox, Wolf and Monkey Judge.

I. Davanti da Meser lo Simioto,
Quale era zuxe, il lupo dimanda
Ala volpe per furto, e'la negava
Ogni dimanda, tuta moto a moto.
El judice, che non era ben docto,
Di saper leze tra luy simulava,
E secreto di mente si pensava,
E la sentencia soa diede diboto.
Al lupo disse: "Tua dimanda è frodo,
Nè tue parole son digne di fede,
Nè la tua propria fe no gli dar lodo.
E tu, volpe, col vitio dele arede,
Ben megi il furto come uxevol modo,
Or fate pace ch'io ve do mercede."
Non sa lasciar gli engani i malfactori,
E cum più vive diventa pizori.

II: El lupo cum la volpe fa tenzone,
Dimandando per furto, e quela nega.
Ecco doe que limoxine s'alega,
La gola e l'avaricia fa questione.
La gola non vuol perdere soa raxone,
E l'avaricia la sua borsa strenga.
El judice, che sua sentencia spiega,
Salvo di pace fa comandaxone.
Come far pace può quivi la gola?
Gula dimanda solo per si sola,
No largeza ma prodegalitate,
Avaricia non cura dignitate,
Ingana ghioca sempre roba e involа
E desliale senza veritate.
L'un diserta e l'altro si consuma,
Doncha fugite sua cativa suma.

Var. I. 2 Fatto judice.

Var. II. 3 Ecco che due elemosine. 6 borsa lega. *After line* 16 *comes a Latin quotation from Sallust translated:* Per che lo avar no se riposa ma, Non pò acquistar sciencia nè bontà.

39. Ferret and Mouse.

I. La donola avea prexo un topo grande,
Intanto l'uomo prexe la mustella.
Dimandando perdon quella favella:
"Justo è'l perdon a me juste dimande,
El tuo nimicho, che quivi s'apande,
Cum sua zenia la mia possa martella,
Tenir me dey como cara sorella,
Chè tuoi nemici ligo, ucido e prande."
"Per l'utel tuo l'animo prompto e rio
Ucide i rati, l'uomo prexe a dire,
Per esser solla a roder el pan mio,
Credendo l'enemico far perire,
Il suo nemico agranda, dove io
Ti penso per gli damni far morire."
Non è che adorni il facto de niente,
S'el non c'è l'uopra, è'l fructo dela mente.

II. Chi libero non serve, nulla valle,
Per ch'el premio refrena il buon volere.
Cossì l'uopra mostra suo podere
Come a servite sua voglia gli calle.
Credendo l'enemico farti malle,
Talor ti serve senza suo piacere,
L'amico ancora talora cadere
Ti fa, crendo servir liberalle.
El justo l'enimico spesso atenta,
Credendo luy tor giù di buon talento,
E la possa de Dio più l'argumenta.
Ecco sul tristo ch'à falso argumento,
Con più fi consigliato, più tormenta,
E più s'aferma al rio proponimento.
La mustella ucidea il suo nimico,
Inimicando se mostrava amico.

Var. I. 8 nemici uccido e ne fo sangue.
Var. II. 2 referma. 4 a servire sua voglia li sale.

40. Frog and Ox.

I. La rana, per volierse simigliare
Al bove di persona e de grandeza,
Si messe voler farsi a sua gualeza,
E feramente se prexe a sgonfiare.
El figliol suo gli dixe: "Dey! non fare!
C'al bove sey niente de pareza,
E s'el non cessa quela tua fereza,
Ben levemente potresti crepare."
Corrozòssi feramente la rana,
E di sgonfiarsi sforza sua natura,
Credendosi compir sua voglia vana.
Unde sgonfiata fuor dela mexura,
Li enteriori cade in tera piana.
Sì che disfata jace sua figura.
Non voglia al grande el pizol simigliarsi,
Consiglisi e voglia temperarsi.

II. Guardative, signor, farvi ranochia,
Nè vi sconfiati per vostra superba,
E lacio et inflacio non si surba,
Cipriano dice, nè Cristo le adochia,
Ma del dimonio son cotal panochia,
E Dio d'umilitate chiede l'erba.
Sgonfiati vuy crepati a pena acerba,
E poy l'anime vostre non sornochia.
Vuy pur volete, signor, farvi grande,
Più che non vi richiede la natura,
La quale sempre suol masticar jande.
E quando sete nel altru pastura,
Vuy vi sgonfiati dele sue vivande,
Le qual crepati cade ala verdura.
El ben mondano vuy lasciati in terra,
E col nemico l'anima s'aferra.

Var. I. 3 Se puose. 16 Pria se consigli.
Var. II. 2 per voglia superba. 3 Che la negra palude non ve serba. 12 Le qual ve fan crepar.

41. Lion and Shepherd.

I. Al leon intrò una spina nel pede,
E zopegando vide un pegoraro,
Il qual un buon castrato iprexentaro,
Querando a luy pietà di buona fede.
El lion ver luy cuz humeltà procede,
Porsiglie il pede, che dovesse traro
La spina fuori, e quel gela cavaro.
Unde il lion si gli rese mercede.
Prexo il leone fo conduto a Roma,
Con molte fere dentro dala rena.
Digno di morte il pecoraro anoma,
E tra le fiere per suo cibo il mena,
Liberòl il leon di cotal soma,
Unde Romani l'ira sua rafrena.
Non si de il merto vilmente scaciare,
Del beneficio se dian ricordare.

II. Coluy che serve may non può perire,
Se tropo gravy pechati nol tocha,
Ma quando quelo che pecati inbrocha
Va zopegando e quaxi non può zire,
Per ch'el pecato nol lascia guarire,
E cossì sta fermato nela çocha,
E quando a penitencia si discrocha,
Rimedio trova che non può perire.
Cossì il leone trovò medexina
Et aiutato dal justo pastore,
Che lietamente gli trasse la spina.
Cossì consola certo il pecatore
L'animo a Dio quando mal se destina,
E subito ritorna al suo factore.
Chi serve a Dio, perir non può zamay,
E sempre schiva i dolorosi guay.

Var. I. 3 castrato e hebbe'l caro. 6 piede per trovar riparo. 7 Quel gli cavò la spina e il duol amaro. 14 Und'el popul roman.

Var. II. 2 Ma se grande peccato troppo el tocha. 3 Come fa quel che da el chiodo se imbrocha. 5 Così el pecato non se pò guarire. 8 pò morire. 11 li cavò. 13 quando ben.

42. Horse and Lion.

I. Pasturando il cavallo in un bel prato,
Vene il leon per voler lui manzare,
E sue parolle prexe simulare:
"Medico son nel arte amaistrato,
Se tu vien mecho, i'te farò beato."
Prima il cavalo prexe pensare
Al frodo, e per voler luy inganare
Disse: "Credo che Dio t' à qui mandato,
Malatia grande nel mio pede sento."
El lion vogliendo mostrar medecina,
Quel cum suoy calci gli diede tromento,
Unde suoy menbri sopiti dechina.
Disse il lion: "Per falso pensamento
Sostegno male e greve disiplina."
Non voler farti quel che tu non sey,
Che tu non cadi neli accessi rey.

II. Homo cativo, a cui mal far dileta,
Per che mutar ti voy di tua natura?
Non vede tu che la justa mesura
Giamay non calla, ma stassi perfecta?
Vedi il leone che vuol dar dieta,
Medicinando fuor per la verdura,
Unde il cavallo gli fici paura
Quando di calci gli diedi la streta.
Cossì nel falso nemico sempre incalza
L'uomo che chietamente in pace vive,
Et in sua vanagloria sempre s'alza.
Idio, che may non vuol ch'el justo prive,
Com' el suo signo gli fa dar di calza,
Quando signato s'à zaschun che vive.
Però d'offender altruy ciaschun si schive,
Per che l'offeso in marmore lo scrive.

MS. II. 16 *lacking.*

Var. II. 5 leone come ben se assetta. *After line* 16 *is a Latin couplet translated:* Se tu hai nemici, non li vilipendere, Sapi chi pensan sempre mai de offendere.

43. Horse and Ass.

I. Del freno, dele barde e dela sella
Alegrassi el cavallo tanto bello,
E superbisse contra l'asinello
Offexo dala carga grave e fella.
Ver luy disse cum fera favella:
"Occuri al tuo signore, miserello."
Fortuna tosto gli volsi mantello,
Luy smagra, batte, luy spoglia e flagiella.
Nel asino scontròssi, et el gli disse:
"Se Dio ti salve! Dov'è il gientil freno,
La respiendente sella, e l'altre arnisse?
Como sey di grasieza giunto al meno,
Che magreça ti preme in tute guisse,
Manchati orzo, spelta, vena o feno!"
Nè i ben vani non voler credere,
Nè'l povero offender, che tu poy cadere.

II. Or puoni mente ala falsa sembiança
Ch'el mondo porze nela vanagloria,
Che quanto monti e quanto più ta gloria
Cotanto più ti trovy buffa e zança.
Quanto ti mostra più ligiadra stança,
Tanto più tuolti da Dio la memoria,
E quanto credi aver maior victoria,
Tanto più tosto cade tua bilanza.
Non odi tu come l'asino dice:
"Dov'è la sella, il freno esi le barde?
Dov'è di tua superbia la radice,
Per che nel ben mazar cotanto tarde?
Dov'è il buon feno e del grano le spice,
Per che sey maceo, e or per che non s'arde?"
Queste cosse buxarde
Chi mostra il mondo e poy di nuy caleffa,
E col nemico ce lassa ale ceffa.

Var. I. 6 Va nanti al.

Var. II. 5 legiadra danza. 14 non pice. 15 cose felice. 12 *Line* 13 *precedes line* 12. *After line* 17 *is a Latin couplet translated:* Nisun se fidi del tempo sereno, Che spesso el muta aspetto e volgie el freno.

44. Bat, Birds and Beasts.

I. Faceano insieme una grande bataglia
Tuti gli ucelli contra gli animali,
E la victoria stava tra le ali
Degli ucelli, che le fere travaglia.
El vespertiglio par che non si calgla
Contra gli ucelli dar corpi mortali,
Abandonando soy compagni equali,
Contra lor vuole che sua possa vaglia.
Possa vegiando lassua possa grande
Che avean gli ucelli per l'aquila forte,
Subitamente alor si torna e rande.
Comandando gli ucelli amare sorte
Gli diede c'al volar l'ale non spande
Salvo la note, in pena dela morte.
Chi offende la sua patria è fuor de honori,
Servessi injustamente duy signori.

II. Oldi novella che qui el berbistrello
Stava sicuro a dir viva chi vençe!
Ora da l'una parte, or torna a quinçe,
Or viva il leo! Et or viva l'ucello!
Cossì l'uomo cativo e topinello,
El qual de lialtate mai si finçe,
Ma sempre nel mal far si liga e cinze,
Sempre metendo mal da questo a quello.
Cossì coluy il qual non à fermeza,
Vasi ala chiexa e sta molto divoto,
E com'è fuori è di pezor fereza.
Al berbistrello fo dato andar di noto,
Cossì chi siguirano cotal treza
Nel profondo d'abisso averà suo scoto.
L'apostol dice ben ni si compensa
De Cristo e del dimonio la lor mensa.

Var. I. 11 e pande.

Var. II. 12 Al barbastel di notte andar è noto. 14 suo voto. 16 in una mensa.

45. Hawk and Nightingale.

I. Cantava dolcemente il risignolo,
Sul nido suo lieto si dieportava;
Intanto il sparavero gli rivava,
El nido gli asaltò, ch'era nel bruolo.
Quela suplicò a luy cum grave duolo.
"Canta soave," il sparivero parlava.
El risignuol più dolce ancor cantava,
Per tema che non manzasse il figliolo.
Quella cantando avea nel core doglia.
El sparaveri gridò: "Tu mal canti."
E presente la madre il figlio spoglia.
Cossì convien che di dolor s'amanti
E senza morte la morte ricoglia
Dal cor roduto da gravosi pianti.
Merita il rio mal fin e mala vita,
E teme l'arte che justi merita.

II. El risignuolo canta dolcemente
Per guardar ch'el suo nido non fia guasto;
El sparaveri, per rubargli il pasto,
Vuol che di canto più dolce il contente.
E cossì fa la dolorosa mente
Del uxeraro, quando da di tasto
Al puover huomo gli mete tal basto,
Che lasciar gli conviem canpi e zumente.
Canta via dolce, e quel gli puorta l'uova,
Canta più dolce, e'l gli da la galina,
Ancor più dolce, à la biada nuova,
Tropo più dolce, e vutagli le scrina.
Cossì come i figlioli fame pruova,
E mendicando fa vita topina,
Nè may si menda questi sciagurati,
Maledeti da Dio e biastemati,
Usurari suogeti ala rapina.

Var. I. 15 che male vita. 16 Sempre ha menato e poi pena infinita.
Var. II. 3 sparver che poi li robbò. 12 e voltagli la schina. *After line* 16 *come three additional lines of text:*

O anima meschina!
Che mai se pente deli soi peccati.
Doppo la morte vassen tra dannati.

46. Fox Betrays Wolf.

I. Aveva il lupo furato un agnello,
La volpe ver luy parlava lieta,
E disse: "Dove sta tua vita cheta?
Di te me meraveglio, car fradello."
E quello a ley come riguardo fello:
"Di pregar Dio per mi non cessi in freta.
Puoi volentieri troveresti meta
Di furar ciò che col dente flagello."
Partisse quella vergognosa e grama,
El pecorar sula campagna vide,
Qual feramente a se parlando chiama,
E disse: "Il lupo l'agnel tuo divide."
Mostragli il luocho, e quel d'ira s'infiama,
Corsegli drieto e quelo junto ucide.
Per invidia perisse chi rapina,
Per gli altruy damni in suoy damni ruina.

II. Eccoti il lupo aver l'agniello tolto,
E divoralo suol per si soleto.
Et ecoti la volpe cum dilecto
Fraudevolmente fargli lietto volto.
Cossì coluy che in le bragald'è involto,
El soto cozo vien che sa il diffeto,
E tutora gli mostra chiaro aspeto
Per aver parte di quel ch'à disolto.
E quando vide che coluy ghel nega,
Dice tra se: "Daròtila per ponto."
E come il suo signor gli da la piega.
Quando il signore il ciagurato à giunto
E vede che di certo el gli è la frega,
Segondo sua justicia el fa difonto.
Idio prima punisse il rubatore,
E simelmente poy l'acusatore.

Var. I. 6 per me non te affreta. 14 Ma quel dietro li corse e'l lupo occide. 16 sua vita ruina.
Var. II. 5 le maghagne è. 14 defuncto.

47. Stag and Antlers.

I. Speculavasi il cervo nel chiaro fonte,
Ito per bevere ala fresca fontana,
E superbisse della gloria vanna
Delle ramose corne del suo fronte.
Poy si lamenta delle magre zonte
Dele sue cambe. Et ecco per la piana
Latrando cani, e quel cum voce sana
Le gambe priega c'al correr sian pronte.
Fuzando il cervo nel boscho discese,
E cum le corne luonge ch'el avia
Ingategliòssi senza far difexe.
Intanto i cazatori lì venia,
E subito quel cervo ligò e prexe,
Dala speranza offexo vana e ria.
Sprexia quel che ci giova è gran mateza,
Quel che ci noce, abiamo per legreza.

II. Come tu vidi, il cervo quivi preso
Fu per la vannagloria delle corne,
Che più non vada nè più retro torne
Di ce le frasche da cuy son contexo.
Eccosì l'uomo dalla fonte offexo,
Cioè dal mondo in cuy spechiar ti scorni,
Per lo pecato prexo, unde sozorne,
E nel peccato convien star alexo.
Quando sentisti che latrava i cani,
Cioè il demonio che ti sottomesse,
Alora cognosesti i pensier vanni.
Tu pregavi le gambe che corresse,
Cioè la penetenza ma lo lontani,
Tropo eram fati tuoi penser da esse.
Per gli pecati si porta le penne,
Però zaschadun si sforza di far benne.

Var. I. 7 Latrar li cani ma la voce il sana. 16 noce haverlo per legrezza.

Var II. 2 per lo desiderio. 4 Di con le frasche dale qual fu appreso.

48. Knight and Widow.

I. Duolsi la donna del marito priva,
E nocte e dì la sepoltura abraza.
Eccoti un ladro ala croce s'alaza,
La guardia forte la note si tinia,
Andò ala tomba e la dona queriva
Che gli porzesse bevre in una caza,
Apresso çiò d'amor quela bonaza.
Quella consente senza voglia schiva,
Possa la guardia ritornò ala croce,
Trovò ch'el ladro gli era tolto via.
Ala donna tornò cumme humel voce:
"Oimè! Come de far la vita mia!"
"Non dubitar," quela dice feroce.
E sula croce il marito metia.
Teme i vivi paura, e morti pena,
Et a mal fin femena l'uopra mena.

II. Vedi la donna pianzer il marito
E poy cavarlo dela sepoltura.
Vedi malicia propria e non sciagura
Poner luy in croce essendo morto.
O peccato mortale istabelito
Che non temi vergogna nè paura,
Luxuria in cui non si trova mesura,
Unde più parte del mondo è perito.
La dona il suo marito abraza e strinze,
Cioè luxuria abraza questo mondo,
E quanto può a se il tira e constrinze,
Poy il mete in croce col suo grave pondo.
Cun l'alturio del inimico il vinze,
E trabucar il faze nel profondo.
Non è nel mondo terribel pecato
Quanto ch'è questo, nè più scelerato.

Var. I. 3 ala forcha. 6 in una taccia. 7 quella percaccia. 11 donna ne vien. 14 sula forcha; ponia. 15 Temen vivi vergogna.

Var. II. 4 chi era sepelito. 12 E doppo in croce el pone con gran pondo. 15 horribel.

49. Youth and Harlot.

I. Per l'arte sua la blandente bagassa
Un gioveneto trasse al falso amore,
Dicendo: "O vita, O spene del mio core!
Tu sey coluy che possar non mi lassa,
Il tuo amore si com el mio s'acassa,
Chè esser denno inseme d'un colore.
Son serva tua, voglio che si segnore
Del corpo mio, ch'al tuo voler s'abassa."
E quello a ley: "O dolce mia speranza!
Sum tuo, sie mia, tuto mi ti abandono.
In me giamay non troveray falanza.
Ma fami avere il gracioso dono,
Dale parole ai fati dubitanza,
Come già fece l'enfengibel sono."
Chi ama la bagassa può crerre
Ch'ela non ama luy, ma sì l'averre.

II. Eccoti qui le false meretrice,
Deslialtate e simulatione.
Eccoti due perfecte compagnone
A farti perdere l'anima felice.
Simula falsamente sua radice
Per condur l'uomo a disperatione,
Poy dal enimico vien temptatione,
Che ti consiglia del stato infelice:
"Io son in tuto toa, O vita mia!"
Eccoti qui simulare il contrario:
"Cossì sie mio," come una voce pia.
Ecco deslialtate, color vario;
"Viver non posso, s'io non ò tua guya."
Cossì perisse il giusto per falsario,
Tu credi ch'el mondan dilecto t'ama,
Ma per farti perire a se ti chiama.

Var. I. 4 che in requie. 5 amor con el mio così se amassa. 6 deveno. 15 pò ben sapere.

50. Father and Son.

I. Il padre castigava so figliolo,
E'l figliolo al padre non crede niente,
Sempre il contrario piglia nela mente,
Unde suo padre molte se ne duolo,
E quando il figlio falla com'el suolo
El padre bate i fanti duramente,
E sempre a castigarlo è sofrente,
E di sua mente questa faula tuolo:
"Figliol, la man maestra del bovolcho
Puose il vitello in giovo com'el bove,
Simel a quel del ixola del colcho,
Unde il bovolcho tal parole move:
'Ara via lieto chè'l convien ch'el solcho.' "
El giovene dal vechio impare e trove
Molto gioua cautela di dotrina
Per ch'el minor al major si dichina.

II. Però che fui di *vuy* primo creatore,
Adamo vi creai per primo padre
Eva ve trassi vostra prima madre,
Moyse ve diedi per gubernatore,
Abram, Ysach, Jacob, consiliatore,
Che di virtude ve mostro le quadre.
Tuti propheti cum viste ligiadre,
Verità disse e non fo mentitore.
Tuti costor vi frustay davanti
Per castigarvi per lor gran martire,
E vuy pur nel mal far seti constanti.
El mio dolce figiol cum gran dexire
Tra vuy manday cum humeli sembianti;
Vuy per invidia lo fisti morire.
Non ve castigarò com padre figlio,
Poy che voglite l'eterno periglio.

MS. II. 1 nuy.
Var. I. 4 padre ne sente gran duolo. 5 figlio comette alcum dolo. 6 il servo. 9 mente fa questo revolo. 16 declina.
Var. II. 1 vui *for* nuy.

51. Viper and File.

I. Intrò una serpa in casa d'un feraro
Per la gran fame, e riguardando prima
In bocha prexe una tagliente lima,
Vogliendo ley del tuto rosegaro.
La lima alora cominzò parlaro
E disse: "Il morso mio non se dilima
Ma tuti i ferri in farina sublima,
Sì ch'el tuo morso non può dubitaro;
Com el mio morso vincho ogni metalo,
Le aspre piano, com el dento mio,
Le tropo longe alla misura callo,
E quele da foraro foro io,
Sì ch'el tuo minazare è grave fallo.
I'rido, e tu pianzeray del morso rio."
Ami el men forte sempre il più-possente,
Nè luy contrari perchè fia perdente.

II. Qui ti consiglia il perfeto maestro
Che sempre debie amar l'uomo valente,
Nè contradirgli ponto de niente,
Chè per sua forza ti può far sinestro.
Mira quanto l'exempio ti da dextro
De la serpe che per fame dolente
Roder volea la lima cum suo dente,
Che men il teme che bolza balestro.
Simelmente non contender Dio,
Ma sempre ama luy e la sua corte,
Come justo signor possente e pio.
E quando fame ti gieta le sorte
D'ofendre il povereto amico mio,
Lascialo in pace che è di te più *forte*,
E ama sempre zaschuz tuo consorte;
Lieto ti troverai doppo la morte.

MS. II. 14 sorte. 16 *lacking.*

Var. I. 7 in polvere. 8 Sì ch'el tuo dente mal non mi pò fare. 13 è vano e frallo.

Var. II. 3 over *for* de. 9 tu così non.

52. Wolves and Sheep.

I. Per lo molton sicure, e per lo cane,
Da lupi si tenian le peccorelle.
A lupi molto spiace tal novelle,
Che contra loro stiano franche e sane.
Tregua com esse fece una dimane
Per inganare quelle misserelle,
E per ostaxo il can domanda a quelle.
Elle si mosse ale promesse vane
E'l cane per ostaxo ai lupi dona.
Un altro pigno poy da lupi prexe,
Che a nullo obprobrio de lupi consona.
I lupi ver di lor mosse contexe,
Che avean roto et a nulla perdona,
Dilacerando lor senza difexe.
Sicur cossa è salvar chi el può defendere,
S'el mancha l'enimico gli può offendere.

II. Quando tu ay un perfecto avocato
Simelmente procurator liale,
Amico mio, tientelo per cotale,
Che l'altra parte non ti faza mato.
Non oldi tu, come te dice Cato,
Da secreto consiglio al tuo sodale,
Se l'abandoni, tu ne rivi male,
Et al dissoto cadi al primo trato,
Al compromessa la setta lupina
Subitamente ti ricorre adosso
Ch'ay posta tua raxon perfecta e fina.
Dice gli tuoy: "Più aitar non ti posso,
Che l'instituta e'l codego defina
Là dove lupi fa bochon più grosso."
Chi dala penitenza s'abandona,
Subito l'enimico adosso sprona.

Var. I. 1 Per guardia del monton. 4 siano. 6 le triste miserelle. 13 rotto el patto.
Var. II. 2 un tuo fator liale. 11 Questi fan tua rason.

53. Man and Trees.

I. L'uomo luprega el boscho ch' el gli presti
Un manico, chè non gli val usare
La sua secure che non può tagliare,
Unde convien che da luy la rivesti.
Coluy consente i maltalenti presti,
E l'uomo il boscho cominzò truncare,
Cun la sicure quel tuto disfare
Dentro e di fuore cum fere tempesti.
"Io perischo, alora il boscho disse,
Istesso son caxon del mio periglio,
Per lo mio ligno mia vita perisse,
Per lo dom ch'el vilano da di piglio
A disfarmi quel sua man si ardisse,
Cossì ci afonda el nimico consiglio."
Guardati di dar favore al tuo nemico,
Chè com el tuo medesmo fie mendico.

II. Ala sicure ch'el manico mancha,
Dimanda l'uomo al bosco che g'el dia.
Coluy a soy malfari consentia,
E l'uomo luy disfar may non si stancha.
Cossì coluy che l'enimico afrancha,
Per gli suoy doni porta mala via,
Truovasi in scelerata malatia
Tosto cadere, dove il vicio brancha.
Dela folla e del mondo dito è quivi,
E contra l'enimico alcuna parte,
Per dar axempio a color che son vivi.
Chi al dimonio presta il suo sarte,
Convien che nel profondo mal dirivi,
Però che de mal far uxa quela arte.
Or rote son le carte.
Non c'è niuno che vero ti dicha,
Se tu gli servi, et el ti da la ficha.

Var. I. 1 rechiede. 4 che gli la. 13 con sue mani ardisse.
Var. II. 9 De la folia del. 17 te fa poi.

54. Dog and Wolf.

I. Scontròsi il lupo nel cane e si dice:
"La copia di buon cibi che tu gusti
Politi e grassi monstra gli tuoy busti."
El can rispuose: "Mia vita felice
Facio di carne, faxam e perdice,
Per che i ladri discazo e salvo i justi."
"Tiecho voglio che mia vita si frusti,"
Il lupo si disse, e'l can a luy suplice.
Vegiando il lupo i pilli dela gola
Ch'eran caduti al cane, luy dimanda:
"Per qual caxon?" E il gli disse: "Sola
Per la morsura mia, ch'è tropo granda,
Ligami il giorno." Il lupo tal parole
Disse: "Non voglio che gola mi prenda,"
Libertà non si vende ben per oro,
Quel don celeste passa ogni texoro.

II. Salvando quela prima alegoria
E la sententia non bene pro toto,
Convienmi refiorir un altro moto
Com'el doctore mi da vigoria.
Io non so dir sì ben com'io voria,
Ben che l'animo di zò si dinoto,
Ma quanto posso in me comprendo e noto,
Per non scriver in van la rima mia.
Nota qui ch'el dimonio dal inferno
Mostra di compagnarsi a l'uomo justo
So per condurlo nel abisso eterno,
Ma quando vede il col di pilli frusto,
Zoè di pecati, volzesi in alterno,
Nè vuol sentir di penitenza il gusto.
Così el predicator, s'io ben discerno,
A ti val nulla a predicar lo inferno.

MS. II. 15-16 *lacking.*

Var. I. 3 grossi. 8 E questo el lupo al cane anchor redice.

Var. II. 6 sia di ciò devoto. 7 quanto io so, ciò che conprhendo, noto.

55. Belly and Members.

I. I piedi cum le mane si lamenta
Del ventre suo, che occioxe vive,
E disse a luy: "Senza faticha prive
El guadagno che nostra vita stenta,
Or soffrisse la fame dolenta,
Che tanto ingordo e tristo eser solive."
Di dargli da manzar le man son schive,
Là donde il corpo sua vita tromenta.
Misericordia il corpo dimandava.
La man avara niente gli vuol dare,
Là donde il corpo a fin pericolava.
E possa quando luy vuolse aiutare,
El corpo non può più, che non parlava,
Unde insieme convien pericolare.
Asay per se non è *sol la* persona
Se non perdoni altrui, a te perdona.

II. Il ventre si simiglia al fontichare,
E sì le membre agli altri mercadanti.
Finch'al fonticho dura esta constanti,
Niun di loro può pericolare.
Come il fonticho vien abandonare,
E che nel mercandar sono distanti,
De signori diventa tristi fanti,
Nè'l fonticho non gli può più aiutare.
Similemente a nuy è sancta chiexa
Fonticho justo dele anime nostre,
Finchè la oservi, sempre fa difexa,
Contra il nemico com el quale tu chiostre.
Ma se pur tua malicia fi represa,
Convien che perdi le beate chiostre.
Però non abandonar quel che ti giova,
Nè contra il tuo miglior non pigliar prova.

MS. I. 15 till'a. *II.* 13-14 *lacking.*
Var. I. 5 fame violenta. 15 Utel per se non è sol la persona.
Var. II. 12 giostre.

56. Ape and Fox.

I. Lamentasi la simia dela lacha
Contra la volpe e dela soza nadega,
E disse: "La toa coda molto radega,
Che spazando la terra ogn'or si stracha.
Un puocholin del peso che ti fracha
A mia sozura si faria paradega,
Che tanto forte non parria sylvatica."
"Seriami aconza quella che ti mancha,
Disse la volpe, a mi non par chi noxa,
La coda mia mi par curta e legiera,
Lamentomi che non è più gravoxa.
Nançi volio che per la terra fera
Che faza honore a tua lacha stizoxa,
Nè faci acossa cossì soza spera."
El tropo sempre par puoco al avaro,
E'l puocho tropo al puover homo paro.

II. O avaricia, misera consorte!
Seneca dice che qual più t'abraza,
Più cade in povertade e più s'alaza.
Quanto concupiscendo sta più forte
Ay radice d'ogni male sorte,
Dice San Paulo, a quel che a te sissiaza.
Salamon dice che turbida faza
A tua famiglia fai, se tu la porte.
Adoncha non vogliete farvi volpe,
Coprete le sue carne al puovereto,
Nè lasciatel perir per vostre colpe.
Idio mandò per nostro gran difecto
In terra a judicar sue proprie polpe,
Nè avaro vi fu del proprio aspecto,
Però zaschun di zò prenda l'effecto.
E sia ben liberal al poveretto.

MS. I, 7; *II*, 16 *lacking.*

Var. I. 1 simia verghognosa. 4 Che scopando terren te è ponderosa. 5-6 La cosa che te è tanto faticosa, Fariasse a mia sociura adatta e praticha. 8 Stariammi ben quella che ti è nogliosa. 9 che me sia. 10 La coda danno che è curta. 11 Assai più longa havere la voria. 12 terra giorno e sera. 13-14 Tirarmi dietro questa coda mia, Che al sozzo culo tuo la sia bandera.

Var. II. 5 Ella è radice. 6 che in te se sacia.

57. Merchant and Ass.

I. Per la ingordixia del grande guadagno
L'aseno forte il mercadante preme
Cum grave carcho e bote sieco insieme
Che nel viazo vaga tosto è stagno.
L'aseno alora cum piatoso lagno
Morte dimanda, perchè vita teme,
Querendogli mercede ver ley gieme,
Che de fatica gli faça sparagno.
L'aseno muore e dela pelle sua
Perforando sen fa cribelli e ancho
Fassi tamburi che giama non mua
La man sonante de dargli nel fiancho.
Sì che a più penne la morte largua,
Che nela vita è di soperchii stancho.
Guardi da rompre an chi nuoce sua vita,
Ch'el non à possa chi non la merita.

II. Oldi che l'asinello si lamenta
Che non può più durare al istintore,
Per che ogni dì porta pena mazore,
Cum più va nanti e tutora più stenta.
Morte dimanda nè più s'argumenta,
E quando morte fa stente pegiore.
Simelemente vien el pecatore,
Che in questo mondo mai non si contenta,
Tutora prega Dio: "Fame morire,"
Nè può portar in pace la sua penna.
E Dio più pena gli fai soffrire,
Poscia al inferno l'enemico il mena,
E sostinir convien tanti martire,
Chè tintinar gli face polpa e vena.
Portate in pace l'afano del mondo,
Se volete goldere ib ben jocundo.

Var. I. 4 Vol che nel viagio vada dritto e stagno. 16 Per che alcun poi non trova che l'aita.

58. Stag and Oxen.

I. Il cervo mosso dal latrar di cani
Iscî del boscho et intrò nel bovile.
"Sicur serebe tropo più tuo stille,
Gli disse i buovi, nei buoschi lontani,
Se ala mia guardia cadi tra le mani,
Perir te converà di morte ville."
El cervo scoxo tanto stete humile
Che la guardia schivò quela dimani.
"Niente ay facto, disse i bovi al cervo,
Per schivar mo tua vita ma comuna
Ti fia di schivar Argo come il servo."
Argo pasciando i buoi che dizuna
El cervo vide, e luy prexe protervo,
Rigraciando il don dela fortuna.
No francho è bando di possenti vegliare
Smarir di servi e di piatoxi aidare.

II. Or vedi il cervo per la gran padura
Esser coi bovi nela stalla chiuxo,
Et allo i bovi coperto col muxo
Di feno per schivarlo da sciagura.
Primo il famiglio schivò per ventura,
Ma non ebe sî coperto per tuxo,
Che dal vedere d'Argo fosse schuxo,
Unde perî per la soa cornatura.
Cossì l'uomo che nel vicio vive,
E stassi chiuxo neli gran pecati,
El prete fuze cum mente cative,
Quanto più vive tra gli scelerati.
Ma non bisogna che da Dio si scive,
Coluy il vide e cazal tra damnati.
Di star nei vicii ciaschadun se guardi,
Se d'Argo vuol schivar gli tristi dardi.

Var. I. 15-16 Temer che è in bando, il possente vigliare, Dormir il servo, l'huom pio suol aitare.
Var. II. 11 con voglie cative.

59. Jew and Cupbearer.

I. Un Judeo vi portava un gran texoro,
Temendosi com el re s'acordava.
El suo siscalco il re si comandava
Per scorta sua, et a luy vene in coro
De luy robare, ucidere e tor l'oro.
Intanto le perdice inde volava,
"Queste palexe, il Judeo gli parlava,
Ti farà avanti il re al concistorio."
Mangiava il re un giorno una perdice,
El sesalco la vide e mosse un rixo.
Per che se ride, il re al pincerna dice.
Coluy per tema il vero conta e dixo,
La donde il re luy fe metre a pendice,
Per che dal suo comando era divixo.
Non esser homicidia per moneta,
Ch'el tuole aspra ruyna vita leta.

II. Inubidenza, cupido e falsitate,
Insieme col dimonio in una roza,
Fece al pincerna stringere la stroza
Che lasciò per superbia humilitate.
Doncha lasciate star le vanitate,
Che i ben mondani non vi sotopoza,
Attendete solamente ala goza,
Che Dio vi manda per sua caritate.
Credete vuy che le predice dorma
A fare a Dio le malicie palexe
Vive e rostite al ver non muta forma.
Contra justicia voler far contexe,
Fate le mente che non si disforma
Ch'el gran guadagno mostra mate spexe.
Fa che per robba mai non rompi fede,
E non serai de Machometto herede.

MS. II. has line 12 *before line* 13 *and lacks lines* 15-16.

Var. I. 4 e quel per suo ristoro. 5 Pensò de occider quello e tuorli l'oro. 12 Il vero conta con pauroso viso. 16 Che aspra ruina tuole vita lieta.

Var. II. 1 Inobidientia e avara infideltade. 12 defese.

60. Knight and Peasant.

I. Sentenciato il citadino vechio
Accusato per ladro al suo signore,
Che in canpo possa metre un feritore
Contra l'averso di gioventù spechio,
Non trova algun che voglie esser parechio.
Intanto çonse un suo laboratore
Di terra, il qual cum grave furore
Tolse l'impresa per l'antico techio.
In campo vene contra il cavalieri
E d'un baston gli dedi si sul brazo
Che tramortito cade sul sentieri.
Disse il vilam: "Or ti leva viazo
E tu medesmo ti fa menzognieri,
O periray dal mio pesente mazo."
La raxon dela forza non fa sogna,
L'amico si conoscie ala bixogna.

II. Invidia trista che prima sagliesti
Nel alto cielo inseme cum superba,
Quanta malacia oçi per te si serba,
Ma poy che l'alto Dio tu offendisti.
El buon vechieto accusar tu facisti,
Per farlo soferire pena acerba,
Nela corte del re dove sta l'erba
Del falso seme che prima spandisti.
Tu mandasti superba per te in campo,
Justicia trabucar la fece al basso,
Sì che mal riva chi segue tuo stampo.
El bovolco che si mostrava lasso,
Quando il dextro se vide per suo scampo,
El giovene fe di sua forza casso.
Dir si solea: tal da, che non promete;
Ancora: che chi induxia non remete.

Var. I. 1 Licentia havendo. 4 Che dela gioventù sia freno e stechio. 5-6 che dicha me apparechio Per te, ma gionse. 7 con gran. 8 vechio. 12 Hor te ne va in viazzo. *After line* 16 *is a Latin couplet translated:* L'amico vechio guarda non lassare, Nè ti rincresca per lui fadigarte.

Var. II. 2 tumida e superba. *After line* 16 *comes a Latin couplet translated:* Nel tempo bono e dolce, la memoria Del male amico havendo la victoria.

61. Capon and Hawk.

I. Torna el signiore lieto dala caza,
Fugie il capone quando il ve venire.
Il sparavero gli cominzò dire:
"Qual tema ti comove, o mente paza,
Che del mio sire la chiareta faza
Veder un puocho non può soferire.
Vedi quant'è jocundo il suo redire,
Che ogni malinconia da me discaza."
El capon dixe: "La pena diversa
Di mei frategli mi comuove a fuga,
Che ti fa lieto quanto è più dispersa,
Cossì lieto è zascadun ch'io mi distruga
Nela maxon tiranna, aspera e perversa,
Che mei e me alcigando manduga."
Non ama i justi caxa de tiranny,
C'al malvaxio signor piace gli engany.

II. El capon fugie fuori dele porte
Quando il signore vien dala foresta,
Dicigli il sparaviero: "Que ti adesta
A fugier quando il signor vien a corte?"
Dice il capone: "I temo la sorte
Che mey ucide et a te façe festa."
Corte tiranna may non fu modesta,
Ch'el falso honora et al justo da morte.
Coluy che serve Dio teme il nemico,
E'l pecatore col demonio sta saldo,
Per che com esso participa el spico.
E cossì il spariviero francho e baldo
Sta quando sente il signior ch'è suo amico,
E'l capon fugie e scondesse nel spaldo.
Tristi coloro che tiranni segue,
Chè como vene e razo se dislegue.

Var. II. 16 Chè par poi come giaccio al sol si slegue.

62. Wolf and Shepherd.

I. El pastor col lupo s'acompagna
E giurôsse la fede fermamente.
El lupo ch'à la felle nela mente
Pensò tra luy la perfida bragagna,
E disse: "Il nostro amor forte magagna
Quel can com el bagliar non c'el consente,
Son dala febra tutor soffrente,
Avanti voglio gire ala campagna;
Se mi voy far sicuro e render francho,
Per hostaxo quel cane tu mi dona,
O l'amor nostro fie disperso e mancho."
Al suo voler il pastor s'abandona,
E'l lupo, che de mal far non è stancho,
Le pecore ucidando non perdona.
Consa che ti bisogna, tienla cara,
Più cha venin è la loxenga amara.

II. Tristo coluy che si acompagnerà
Com el cativo che ben far non pò,
Cum suo vantazo el te dice no
Et a sua possa el te disertarà.
Se averay amico de te il partirà
Per posser darti più tosto sul cho.
Cossì il lupo il pastor consigliò
Fin che le pecorelle divora.
Se col demonio t'acompagni tu,
Torati zù dala perfecta fe
E nel pecato caciati pur su.
E quando benne il t'à tirato a se,
L'anima tuole quando non pò più,
Nel inferno la porta dove se.
Guarti dale loxingue amico sì
Che salvi l'alma e non deserti ti.

Var. I. 4 perfida magagna. 5 forte se lagna. 6 col suo latrar.
Var. II. After the fable is a Latin couplet translated: Chi giovenetto se usa ad alcun vitio, Quando el se invechia attende a quello officio.

63. Merchant and Wife.

I. El suo marito absente schozogato
Fece la moglie, e d'essa naque un figlio.
Quel ritornato vi parse bisbiglio
Considerando che non l'à calmato.
La moglie pianamente à dimandato:
"Come avesti quel figlio?" A gran consiglio
Quela rispuoxe, cum ridente ciglio:
"Neve mangiay, e di zò è gienerato."
Disse il marito: "Il vuo far mercadante."
Menòllo nel viagio e quel vendiò,
Poscia s'en ritornò sano e aitante.
Disse la moglie: "Dov'è il figliol mio?"
"Per che di neve naque, il sol scotante
A lo disfato, per la fede Dio."
Consente la raxon che cossì sia,
Che chi ingana, l'engano justo fia.

II. Vedi quella cativa che vergogna
A fato al suo marito essendo fuori.
Quel ritornato come alegri cuori
Che ben fornito avea la sua bisogna,
La meretrice di zò non sogna,
Portògli in brazo gli suoy disinori.
Quel stupefato di perduti honori,
A ley non diedi vilana rampogna,
Accidia pregna di melenconia.
Nassì fuor d'essa un malvaxio pensiero,
Che l'uom conduce spesso in mala via.
Adoncha lascia il perfido sentiero,
Ingana e vendi, sì che tuo non fia.
L'aspero peccato per lo qual si pero.
Chi saviamente sua vergogna menda,
Nè a Dio nè al mondo non è chi'l riprenda.

MS. II. places line 8 *after line* 13, *the error being indicated by letters in margin.*

Var. I. (1483, *the* 1479 *ed. of the Bibliothèque nationale having lost this folio*). 1 svergognato. 15-16 che justo fia Che chi inganna altri, egli ingannato sia.

64. Peasant and Pluto.

I. Crede il vilan pagar la sua debita,
Dagandosi ala morte vuol morire,
Gran fredi e caldi cominza sofrire,
Tempeste e neve per far sua finita.
La morte non consente sua partita,
Per far luy sostenir grave martire.
Eccoti un vento perfido venire
Che gli tuolse de subito la vita.
El dimonio prexe l'anima sua,
Chè ley spectando siecho era rimaxo,
E de gir al inferno molto argua.
E riguardando çascun scolta e taxo,
Poi si cridò: "Porta la puza tua."
E cun gonelle e man si stropa il naxo.
Non è digno il vilan dela citate,
Fin al inferno non vuol sua amistate.

II. El vilan non vuol più viver al mondo,
E per morire fa sua vita lenta,
Va per lo caldo or quando che più sventa,
Tanto che de sua vita vien al fondo.
Cossì il soldato quant'è più jocundo
Tanto più nel mal fare s'argumenta,
Morte nol vuole per far che più stenta
E tal hora gli mostra grosso il brondo.
Non si conosce questi topinelli
Fin che nel soldo dura suo furore,
E quando è cassi riman miserelli
Abandonati da ciaschum signore.
Nè'l ospetale vuol recever quelli
Fina nel inferno *fuge el suo puzore.*
Ben che sua vita mostra bella vita,
Certo nel mondo nonnè la più trista.

MS. II. 14 *last half of line lacking.*

Var. I (1483). 11 E de addurla al inferno. 12 Riguardando ciascun di quella il caso. 15 se stuppa.

Var. II. 15 bella vista. *After the fable comes a Latin couplet translated:* Entri in la nostra scola chiunque usare Vol con gli boni, e li altri lasse stare.

CANCIONETTA.

Volume mio quel poco d'argumento
Il qual tu spandi so che biaxemato
Seray per zaschun lato.
Per li sogieti di mortal peccati
Non ti curare dil suo mal talento,
Che coluy che non vuol fir consigliato
Si riman scelerato.
E nele fine vasi tra damnati
Ay doloroxi tristi sciagurati,
Che non cognose comme il mondo attento,
Per gir come fa il vento.
Si sta non aspetando il più beato,
Tirando al fondo quel che maior stato,
E nel mal fare pur si stan fichati.
Quando sie condemnati,
Riposserâssi poscia nel tremento,
Se biaxemato fia il compilatore,
Di star in tal errore.
Però non fia scuxato quel che falla,
C'el suo vitio non calla,
Che simigliante del predicatore.
Or sta constante sì che non si stalla,
Di mandar la tua balla,
Dov'è più turba di gran peccatore,
Che gli mostra il terore.
Che nel profondo dove non si balla.
Dimanda perdonanza a cuy recresse
Le tue parole messe
Disordinate fuori di tua rima,
Ma nondimeno fa ch'el si sublima
L'efecto al alta cima,
Sì che del tuto non sio sottomesse.

Var. 10 che non vedete. 12 Aspettando di voi el. 1479 *ed. at Bibl. Nat'le ends with line* 22; *the* 1483 *edition shows no further variations of importance.*

CANZONE.

Qui si conchude il fin del opra mia,
Che si contene avanti nel principio
Del polito hedifficio,
Ch'el buon doctore mi donò luy stesso.
O examinato in omni allegoria
Coliendol il fiore per lo primo indicio,
E per lo beneficio
Il fructo retentivo o fermo messo,
L'un dopo l'altro seguitando apresso,
Per haver doppo il fin qualche memoria.
E per che questa ystoria
Per me volgarizando è posta in rima,
Cogliendo di sentencia la più cima,
E in volgaro tracta dal latino.
Ollo nomato Exopo Zucharino.

La secha gussia buon noxiglo sconde,
Dice il maestro, doncha providenza
Habi in te et retinenza,
Segondo che seguendo ti di chiaro.
Prima ti veste de sue verde fronde
Che tu debie honorare la scienza;
La segonda sentenza,
Che dal malvaxio ti sapi guardare,
Però ch'el falso l'arte sa trovare
D'ofendre al justo e però ti castica,
Ancora ti faticha
De schivar quegli che ruompe sua fede,
Per che inver de l'uomo n'à mercede,
E guardati dal falso testimonio,
Che pietà teme l'arte del dimonio.

Figliol mio per la vana speranza
Il propio tuo may no abandonare,
E non ti compagnare
A superbo huomo di te più possente.
Homo cativo per anticha usanza,
Caro figliolo, non l'alturiare,
Nè'l scognoscente aidare.
Al perfido tu fa simelemente,
Se tu gli servi, il ti vuol far dolente.

Nè ti fidare in le parole blande,
Nè al savio in vano scande,
E godi im pace quel puocho che ai,
Che rich'è povertà se lieta l'ay.
Nè il pover humo non voler contendere,
Che lievemente il ti può ben offendere.

Guardati ancora dala savia lingua,
Che non t' engani e vanagloria scaza,
D'amici ti percaza,
E non voler sforzar la tua natura;
Al pizol servi sempre a voglia pingua,
Che in caso de periglio el ti rifaza.
E fa ch'el non ti alaza
Gravi peccati a far tra lor tua cura.
Sempre del rio consiglio habi paura,
E se sey francho, guarti da far servo,
Chè glì è dolor protervo;
E sie contento del debito tuo.
Se tu fay cossa, guarda il fine suo.
Non esser vile figliolo per la gola,
Nè matamente credi ogni parola.

Coluy che più minaza, fa men fati,
Però ti prego non esser di quigli.
E credi ai buon consigli di tuoy parenti,
E schiva tuoy nemici,
Che la segonda volta non t'enbrati.
Nè pato fare a chi teme i perigli,
Nè in carta poner igli,
Che temeroxi pati ven felici.
Per ofender mai non s'aquista amici,
E di pizol caxon gran mal discende;
E però ti diffende
Di non far piaga che tu non voresti.
A ben seguir l'efecto te rivesti,
Nè de l'altruy non ti voler vestire,
Che lievemente poristi perire.

Cativo minaza quando à tempo,
E per la lingua nasce ben e male.
Al mal factore non vale
Di relasciare il vitio che in luy regna,
El servixio non val, se per tempo

L'uopra non mostra il fructo sieco eguale.
Chi vuol farsi cotale,
Quanto el mazor a luy non convegna,
Isteso abassa e fortuna disdegna.
Or tiente a mente el beneficio agrada,
Nè la tua mente vada
A voler farti quel che tu non sey,
Nè i beni mondani creder, chè son rey.
Servessi duy signori inutelmente,
Questi castichi tienti nela mente.

El malvaxio merita malla vita,
Per invidia perisse chi rapina.
Et in grave ruina
Cade chi sprexia cossa che gli giova.
Femina l'opra sua mal ve finita,
E quel ch'ala bagascia se dechina
Sosten gran disciplina.
Cautela di doctrina è gran sapere.
Fassi al cativo il possente temere,
Gran segureza hè haver chi'l può guardare,
Nè'l tuo nemicho aidare,
Nè libertà se vende ben per oro.
Intende figliol mio questo laboro,
E fa la mente tua sì retentiva,
Che salvi i boni e li altri vici schiva.

Nulla persona è asay per si medesmo,
E tuto'l mondo par pocho al avaro.
E non ti dubitaro
Che malle ariva chi sua vita rompe.
Se schivi el mese, si prompto al milesmo.
Nè per moneta homicidio non faro.
Che mal convien rivaro,
Chi la vita aventura per le pompe.
Nè per tema raxon non si corumpe.
E l'amico si prova ala bixogna.
Il justo non fa sogna
Di far albergo in casa de tiranny,
Per che dan fede a rey che uxa ingani.
Chi utel ti fa tiente'l per caro,
Luxenge tene per venin amaro.

Tu ai canzon ben perfecto noxiglio,
Sia pur secca la guscia quanto vole.
Faciam poche parole,
Ch'el tropo dir talora recresse.
S'el nome mio alcun saper volesse,
Digli che Azo è'l proprio nome mio
Or vatene con Dio,
E franchamente mostra la tua arte
E se tu trovi in parte,
Che del pronome mio saper si lagna,
Risponde il Zucho da Soma Campagna.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

UTL AT DOWNSVIEW
D RANGE BAY SHLF POS ITEM C
39 15 19 12 02 006 8